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Delany, Martin R. Official Report of the Niger Valley Exploring Party. New York, 1861.

Easton, Hosea, A Treatise on the Intellectual Character, and Civil and Political Condition of the Colored People of the United States; and the Prejudice Exercised Towards Them. Boston, 1837.

Equal Suffrage. Address from the Colored Citizens of Norfolk, Va., to the People of the United States. Also an Account of the Agitation Among the Colored People of Virginia for Equal Rights. New Bedford, Massachusetts, 1865.

(The) First Annual Report of the New York Commission of Vigilance for the Year 1837... New York, 1937.



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Official Report

THE NIGER VALLEY

EXPLORING PARTY.

M. R. DELANY.

CHIEF COMMISSIONER TO AFRICA.

New York:

THOMAS HAMILTON, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET.

LONDON:

WEBB, MILLINGTON & CO., FLEET STREET. LEEDS :- J. B. BARRY, TRINITY STREET.

1861.

Entered at Stationers' Hall, London, and according to an Act of Congress in the year 1861, in t. Clerk's Office for the Southern District of New York,

BY MARTIN R. DELANY.

MARTIN ROBINSON DELANY

Soldier, Physician and Explorer 1812 – 1885 A Bibliographical Note by

Martin R. Delany was one of a number of prominent ninetecnth century Negroes whom the late Benjamin Brawley proposed for inclusion in the DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY in the mid-1920's. With the exception of the stray and occasional references that have slipped into scholarly publications, very little has been done to refurbish the portrait of Delany the scientist and explorer, physician and soldier, and above all one of the great intellectuals who fought vigorously in behalf of blacks.

Delany was born of free parents in Charlestown when it was still Virginia in 1812. At Pittsburgh where his family later settled, he became involved in the ideas for the improvement of free blacks that dominated his future activity. He was determined to become a physician and after being rejected from a number of institutions was finally accepted at Harvard Medical School. Meanwhile, he had his first taste of journalism when he began the publication of a newspaper in Pittsburgh, the MYSTFRY, in 1843. Four years later he became associated with Frederick Douglass in the founding and editing of the NORTH STAR.

His best known work, THE CONDITION, EDUCATION, EMIGRATION, AND DESTINY OF THE COLORED PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, POLITICALLY CONSIDERED (Philadelphia 1852), was the basis of the so-called Emigration Convention, held in Cleveland two years later. Emigration of free blacks from the United States as proposed by Delany is not to be confused with the colonization schemes advocated over the previous three decades. Delany was interested in founding autonymous states, if possible, in Central, South America and Canada, but he did not rule out the coast of Africa. At one time he advocated Oklahoma as a state for black Americans. In many ways he was the theorotician of the black nationalist movement.

At the Convention of 1854 it was resolved that a commission be established for the purpose of exploring the possibility of settlement in a suitable area of Africa. This was the forerunner of the plan which required two additional conventions to explore the Niger Valley. It was thwarted at every step, according to Delany, by "white meddlers".

The original exploring party was to consist of Delany Robert Douglass, the Philadelphia landscape and portrait painter and Robert Campbell, a chemist and teacher in the Institute for Colored Youth. Two other men, Dr. Amos Array a surgeon and James W. Purnell, a businessman were included because of their special qualifications. But of the five men, only Delany and Campbell actually set sail for Africa, each departing separately and each preparing an independent record of their travels and observations.

Delany's REPORT was first published in an abbreviated version in London, a condition that he deeply regretted. He therefore prepared the present edition, a copy of which is in the Fahnestock Collection at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Innumerable documents of considerable interest were added to the American edition. The publisher, Thomas Hamilton, was the first black publisher of importance in the United States.

In the history of black letters Delany is also recalled as the author of BLAKE, OR THE HUTS OF AMERICA, the third novel written by an American black.

Sources:

The basic source for the life of Delany is, Frank A. Rollin, LIFE AND PUBLIC SER VICES OF MARTIN R. DELANY (Boston 1883). The author was a colored woman, Frances E. Rollin Whipper and the work ranks high in the literature of black biography. Robert Campbell, A PILGRIMAGE TO MY MOTHERLAND. AN ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY AMONG THE EGBAS AND YORUBAS OF CENTRAL AFRICA, IN 1859-60 (New York 1861). For a note on his novel see Maxwell Whiteman, A CENTURY OF FICTION BY AMERICAN NEGROES (Philadelphia, 1955), 17.

AUTHOR'S NOTE.

The American publication of this Report has been carefully revised and corrected, with additional matter by the author. The English issue was superintended by a friend of his, whereby many things of much importance which should have been included, were omitted, among which were many valuable editorials from leading British commercial and religious journals, and much of the report of the African Aid Society, London, the whole of which should have been published. His friend took sick, and it would seem that the management devolved upon others, who reduced the work to sixty-four pages, consequently excluding much of the matter supplied by the author. This he much regrets.

A "book" certainly is intended for *information*, as much as a story related or a speech made, otherwise it is not worth publishing; and to publish without the whole, is to keep back part of the information. Certainly there is no subject herein treated upon so tediously, neither is the entire Report so prolix that the whole might not have been published in the English issue; and even a page of "Contents" would have added to the convenience of that which was published.

Chatham, C. W., July 30th, 1861.



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TO THE GENERAL BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS.

WM. HOWARD DAY, ESQ., PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNCIL:

I herewith most respectfully present for your consideration my Report, on our return from an exploring tour in Africa, and a visit to Europe, as Commissioners of the "NIGER VALLEY EXPLORING PARTY," after having earnestly, and I hope faithfully, prosecuted our mission during twenty-one months' absence.

Hoping that it may meet your acceptance,

I am, gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

M. R. DELANY.

Chatham, Canada West, Feb. 15th, 1861.



REPORT

OF

THE NIGER VALLEY EXPLORING PARTY.

SECTION I.

POLITICAL MOVEMENTS.

On or about the latter part of July, 1853, the following document was sent on, and shortly appeared in the columns of "Frederick Douglass' Paper," Rochester, N. Y., and the "Aliened American," published and edited by William Howard Day, Esq., M. A., at Cleveland, Ohio, U. S., which continued in those papers every issue, until the meeting of the Convention:

CALL FOR A NATIONAL EMIGRATION CONVENTION OF COLORED MEN.

To be held in Cleveland, Ohio, on the 24th, 25th, and 26th of August, 1854.

"MEN AND BRETHREN: The time has fully come when we, as an oppressed people, should do something effectively, and use those means adequate to the attainment of the great and long-desired end—do something to meet the actual demands of the tries and long desired end—do something to meet the actual demands of the present and prospective necessities of the rising generation of our people in this country. To do this, we must occupy a position of entire equality, of unrestricted rights, composing in fact, an acknowledged necessary part of the riting element of society in which we live. The policy necessary to the preservation of this element must be in our favor, if ever we expect the enjoyment, freedom, sovereignty, and equality of rights anywhere. For this purpose, and to this end, then, all colored men in favor of Emigration out of the United States, and opposed to the American Colonization scheme of leaving the Western Hemisphere, are requested to meet in CLEVELAND, OHHO, on TUSDAY, the 24th day of AUGUST, 1854, in a great NATIONAL CONVENTION, then and there to consider and decide upon the great and important subject of Emigration from the United States.

"No person will be admitted to a seat in the Convention, who would introduce the subject of Emigration to the Eastern Hemisphere—either to Asia, Africa, or Europe—as our object and determination are to consider our claims to the West Indies, Central and South America, and the Canadas. This restriction has no reference to personal preference, or individual enterprise; but to the great question of national

claims to come before the Convention.

All persons coming to the Convention must bring credentials properly authenticated, or bring verbal assurance to the Committee on Credentials—appointed for the purpose—of their fidelity to the measures and objects set forth in this call, as the Convention is specifically by and for the friends of Emigration, and none others—and no opposition to them will be entertained.

"The question is not whether our condition can be bettered by emigration, but whether it can be made worse. If not, then, there is no part of the wide spread uni-

verse, where our social and political condition are not better than here in our native

country, and nowhere in the world as here, proscribed on account of color.

"We are friends to, and ever will stand shoulder to shoulder by our brethren, and all our friends in all good measures adopted by them for the bettering of our condition in this country, and surrender no rights but with our last breath; but as the subject of Emigration is of vital importance, and has ever been shunned by all delegated assemblages of our people as heretofore met, we cannot longer delay, and will not be farther baffled; and deny the right of our most sanguine friend or dearest brother, to prevent an intelligent inquiry into, and the carrying out of these measures, when this can be done, to our entire advantage, as we propose to show in Convention—as the West Indies, Central and South America—the majority of which are peopled by our brethren, or those identified with us in race, and what is more, desting, on this continent-all stand with open arms and yearning hearts, importuning us in the name of suffering humanity to come-to make common cause, and share one common fate on the continent.

"The Convention will meet without fail at the time fixed for assembling, as none but those favorable to Emigration are admissible; therefore no other gathering may prevent it. The number of delegates will not be restricted-except in the town where the Convention may be held and there the number will be decided by the Convention when assembled, that they may not too far exceed the other delegations.

"The time and place fixed for holding the Convention are ample : affording sufficient time, and a leisure season generally-and as Cleveland is now the centre of all directions-a good and favorable opportunity to all who desire to attend. Therefore, it may reasonably be the greatest gathering of the colored people ever before assembled in a Convention in the United States.

"Colonizationists are advised, that no favors will be shown to them or their ex-

patriating scheme, as we have no sympathy with the enemies of our race.

"All colored men, East, West, North, and South, favorable to the measures set forth in this Call will send in their names (post paid) to M. R. Delany, or Rev. Wm. Webb. Pittsburgh, Pa., that there may be arranged and attached to the Call, five names from each State.

"We must make an issue, create an event, and establish a position for ourselves. It

is glorious to think of, but far more glorious to carry out.

Rev. Wm. Webb, M. R. Delany, H. G. Webb, Thos. A Brown, John Jones, R. L. Hawkins, Samuel Venerable, John Williams, A. F. Hawkins, S. W. Sanders, Jefferson Miller, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Rev. A. R. Green, P. L. Jackson, J. H. Mahoney, G. Harper, Jonathan Green, H. A. Jackson, E. R. Parker, Samuel Bruce, Alleghany City; J. J. Gould Blas. M.D., Rev. M. M. Clark, A. M. Sumner, Johnson Woodlin, Philadelphia; James M. Whitfield, John N. Still, Stanley Matthews, New York."

This Call was readily responded to by the addition of names from other

States, which appeared in subsequent issues.

At the Convention, which according to the Call sat in Cleveland successively on Thursday, 24th, Friday, 25th, and Saturday, 26th of August, 1854, the following States were represented: Rhode Island, Nev York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Indiana, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Virginia, and the Canadas; the great body consisting of nearly sixteen hundred persons. W. H. DAY, Esq., editor of the Aliened American, entered the Convention, and the Chairman invited him forward, offering him the privileges of the Convention, stating that wherever colored people were, William Howard Day was free-whether or not he altogether agreed in sentiment on minor points; and the Convention unanimously concurred in the invitation given.

Mr. Day subsequently proffered to the Convention any books or docu-

ments at his command for the use of that body.

The following permaneut Institution was established:

ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS. Central Commissioners, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania—M. R. Delany, President; Wm. Webb, Vice-President; Thos. A. Brown, Treasurer; Edw. R. Parker, Auditor; Chas. W. Nighten, Secretary; Professor M. H. Feeeman, A.M., Special For Sec.; Samuel Venerable, Alfred H. Johns, Samuel Bruce, Parker Sorrell.

DEPARTMENTS.

Committee on Domestic Relations.—Samuel Bruce, Chairman; Samuel Venerable, Charles W. Nighten. Financial Relations.—Thomas A. Brown, Chairman; Parker Sorrell, Alfred H. Johns. Foreign Relations.—Rev. Wm Webb, Chairman; M. R. Delany, Edw. R. Parker. Special Foreign Secretary.—Prof. Martin H. Freeman, A.M. State Commissioners.—Massachusetts—Wm. C. Nell, Boston; C. L. Remond, Salem. New York, Buffalo.—James. M. Whitfield. J. Theodore Holly. Ohio, Ciacinnat.—Augustus R. Green, Philip Tolivar, Jun. Michigan, Detroit.—William C. Munroe, William Lambert. Kentucky, Louisville.—Conaway Barbour. James H. Gipson. Missouri, St. Louis.—Rev. Rich'd Anderson, Rev. Jordan Brown. Virginia. Richmond.—Richard Henderson, John E. Ferguson. Tennessee. Nashville.—Elder Peter A. H. Lowry, Charles Barratt. Louisiana, New Orleans.—Jordan B. Noble, Rev. John Garrow. California, San Francisco.—Henry M. Collins, Orange Lewis.

SECTION II.

SUCCEEDING CONVENTIONS.

The Second Convention, pursuant to a call, was held in Cleveland, in August, 1856, when some modification and amendments were made in the Constitution, and some changes in the officers of the Board; but the president was unanimously re-elected, and continued in office until the close of the Third Convention, which met pursuant to a call in the town of Chatham, Canada West, in August, 1858, when, resigning his position in the Board, the following officers succeeded to the

GENERAL BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS.

CENTRAL COMMISSIONERS .- CHATHAM, CANADA.

WILLIAM HOWARD DAY, President.
MATISON F. BAILEY, Vice-President.
GEORGE WASH. BRODIE, Secretary.
JAMES MADISON BELL, Treasurer.
ALFRED WHIPPER, Auditor.
MARTIN R. DELANY, Foreign Secretary.

Note.—The names only of the Central Commissioners are here given, the others being re-elected as chosen in 1856, at Cleveland.

OTHER MEMBERS.

ABRAM D. SHADD. J. HENRY HARRIS. ISAAC D. SHADD.

At an Executive Council Meeting of the Board, September 1st, 1858, the following resolution, as taken from the Minutes, was adopted: That Dr. Martin R Delany, of Chatham, Kent County, Canada West, be a Commissioner to explore in Africa, with full power to choose his own colleagues.

SECTION III.

HISTORY OF THE PROJECT.

In the winter of 1831-2, being then but a youth, I formed the design of going to Africa, the land of my ancestry; when in the succeeding winter of 1832-3, having then fully commenced to study. I entered into a solemn promise with the Rev. Molliston Madison Clark, then a student in Jefferson College, at Cannonsburg, Washington County, Pennsylvania, being but seventeen miles from Pittsburgh, where I resided (his vacations being spent in the latter place), to complete an education, and go on an independent and voluntary mission—to travel in Africa—I as a physician and he as a clergyman, for which he was then preparing.

During these vacations of about seven weeks each, Mr. Clark was of great advantage to me in in my studies, he being then a man of probably thirty years of age, or more, and in his senior year (I think) at college.

This design I never abandoned, although in common with my race in America, I espoused the cause, and contended for our political and moral elevation on equality with the whites, believing then, as I do now, that merit alone should be the test of individual claims in the body politic. This cause I never have nor will abandon; believing that no man should hesitate or put off any duty for another time or place, but "act, act in the living present, act," now or then. This has been the rule of my life, and I hope ever shall be.

In 1850, I had fully matured a plan for an adventure, and to a number of select intelligent gentlemen (of African descent, of course) fully committed myself in favor of it. They all agreed that the scheme was good: and although neither of them entered personally into it, all fully sanctioned it, bidding me God speed in my new adventure, as a powerful handmaid to their efforts in contending for our rights in America.

In 1854, at the great Emigration Convention in Cleveland, my paper, read and adopted as a "Report on the Political Destiny of the Colored Race on the American Continent," set forth fully my views on the advan-

tages of Emigration.

Although the Call itself strictly prohibits the introduction of the question of emigration from the American Continent or Western Hemisphere, the qualification which directly follows-" This restriction has no reference to personal preference, or individual enterprise"—may readily be understood. It was a mere policy on the part of the authors of those documents, to confine their scheme to America (including the West Indies), whilst they were the leading advocates of the regeneration of Africa, lest they compromised themselves and their people to the avowed enemies of

The Convention (at Cleveland, 1854), in its Secret Sessions made,

Africa, with its rich, inexhaustible productions, and great facilities for checking the abominable Slave Trade, its most important point of dependence, though each individual was left to take the direction which in his judgment best suited him. Though our great gun was leveled, and the first shell thrown at the American Continent, driving a slaveholding faction into despair, and a political confusion from which they have been utterly unable to extricate themselves, but become more and more complicated every year, Africa was held in reserve, until by the help of an Allwise Providence we could effect what has just been accomplished with signal success—a work which the most sanguine friend of the cause believed would require at least the half of a century.

It is a curious, and not less singular historical fact, that a leading political journal, and the first newspaper which nominated Mr. James Buchanan, many years ago, for the Presidency of the United States; and at a time whilst he was yet at the Court of St. James (1854), as Envoy Extraordinary, this paper was strongly urging his claims as such, thus expresses itself, which gives a fair idea of the political pro-slavery press generally, especially in Pennsylvania, Mr. Buchanan's native State. I intended to give the article entire, as alarm will be seen even at the commencement; but pressure for space will prevent my quoting but a few sentences. It is from the Pittsburgh Daily Morning Post, Wednesday,

October 18th, 1854:

A GRAND SCHEME FOR THE COLORED RACE.

"In August last, a National Convention of colored people was held at Cleveland, Ohio. It was composed of delegates from most of the States. It was called the 'National Emigration Convention,' and its objects were to consider the political destinies of the black race; and recommend a plan of Emigration to countries where

they can enjoy political liberty, and form nations 'free and independent.' "

"The Committee then proceeds to mark out a grand scheme by which the Negro race may be regenerated, and formed into free intelligent, and prosperous nations. The West India Islands, Central America, and all the Northern and middle portions of South America, including the whole of Brazil, are designated as the regions desired; and that can be obtained as the seat of negro civilization and empire. These regions and islands together are represented as containing twenty-four and a half millions of population; but one-seventh of which, some three and a half millions. are whites of pure Europeon extraction; and the remainder, nearly twenty-one millions, are colored people of African and Indian origin. This immense preponderance of the colored races in those regions, it is supposed, will enable them, with the aid of Emigration from the United States, to take possession of all those countries and islands, and become the ruling race in the empires to be formed out of those wide and fruitful realms. The Committee expresses full confidence in the practicability of this great undertaking; and that nothing is wanting to its success at no distant day but unanimity of sentiment and action among the masses of the colored people. The climate of those regions is represented as entirely congenial to the colored race, while to the European races it is enervating and destructive; and this fact, added to the present immense superiority of numbers on the part of the negroes, is relied on as a sure guarantee of the success of the great enterprise; and that their race could forever maintain the possession and control of those regions.

"Other great events, it is supposed, will follow in the train of this mighty movement. With the West India Islands, and Central and South America, composing free negro nations, slavery in the United States would, they suppose, soon be at an end. The facility of escape, the near neighborhood of friends and aid, it is urged, would rapidly drain off from the Southern States all the most intelligent, robust, and bold

of their slaves.

"Dr. M. R. Delany, of Pittsburgh, was the chairman of the committee that made this report to the convention. It was, of course, adopted.

"If Dr. D. drafted this report, it certainly does him much credit for learning and ability; and cannot fail to establish for him a reputation for vigor and brilliancy of imagination never yet surpassed. It is a vast conception of impossible birth. The Committee seem to have entirely overlooked the strength of the 'powers on earth' that would oppose the Africanization of more than half the Western Hemisphere.

"We have no motive in noticing this gorgeous dream of 'the Committee,' except to show its fallacy—its impracticability, in fact, its absurdity. No sensible man, whatever his color, should be for a moment deceived by such impracticable theories.

"On the African cost already exists a thriving and prosperous Republic. It is the native home of the African race; and there he can enjoy the dignity of manhood, the rights of citizenship, and all the advantages of civilization and freedom. Every colored man in this country will be welcomed there as a free citizen; and there he can not only prosper, and secure his own comfort and happiness, but become a teacher and benefactor of his kindred races; and become an agent in carrying civilization and Christianity to a benighted continent. That any one will be turned aside from so noble a mission by the delusive dream of conquest and empire in the Western Hemisphere is an absurdity too monstrous and mischievous to be believed. Yet 'the Committee's Report' was accepted, and adopted, and endorsed by a 'National Convention;' and is published and send forth to the world.''

In July, 1855. Rev. James Theodore Holly, an accomplished black gentleman, now rector of St. Luke's Church, New Haven, Connecticut, U. S., was commissioned to Faustin Soulouque, Emperor of Hayti, where he was received at court with much attention, interchanging many official notes during a month's residence there, with favorable inducements to laborers to settle.

During the interval from the first convention, 1854 to 1858, as President of the Council, I was actively engaged corresponding in every direction, among which were several States of Central and South America, as well as Jamaica and Cuba; the Rev. J. T. Holly, who, during two years of the time, filled the office of Foreign Secretary, contributing no small

share in its accomplishment.

Immediately after the convention of 1856, from which I was absent by sickness, I commenced a general correspondence with individuals imparting to each the basis of my adventure to Africa to obtain intelligent colleagues. During this time (the Spring of 1857), "Bowen's Central Africa" was published, giving an interesting and intelligent account of that extensive portion of Africa known on the large missionary map of that continent as Yoruba. Still more encouraged to carry out my scheme at this juncture, Livingstone's great work on Africa made its appearance, which seemed to have stimulated the Africo-Americans in many directions, among others, those of Wisconsin, from whom Mr. Jonathan J. Myers, a very respectable grocer, was delegated as their Chairman to counsel me on the subject. In the several councils held between Mr. Myers and myself, it was agreed and understood that I was to embody their cause and interests in my mission to Africa, they accepting of the policy of my scheme.

At this time, I made vigorous efforts to accomplish my design, and for this purpose, among others, endeavored to obtain goods in Philadelphia to embark for Loando de St. Paul, the Portuguese colony in Loango, South Africa, where the prospect seemed fair for a good trade in beeswax and ivory, though Lagos, West Central Africa, was my choice and destination. Robert Douglass, Esq., artist, an accomplished literary gen-

tleman (landscape, portrait painter, and photographer) of Philadelphia, with whom I was in correspondence, sent me the following note:

"MR. M. R. Delany:—

"Dear Sir—I think very highly of the intended Expedition to the 'Valley of the Niger.' I would be pleased to accompany it professionally, if I were to receive a proper outfit and salary. Dr. Wilson declines; but Mr. Robert Campbell, of the 'Institute for Colored Youth,' a very accomplished Chemist, &c., &c., &c., says he will gladly accompany the Expedition, if a proper support for his family in his absence were assured. Rev. William Douglass, in conversation with me, has expressed very favorable views. Hoping you may be very successful, I remain in expectation of receiving more detailed accounts of the plan, its prospects and progress,

Your friend and well-wisher,

661, N. Thirteenth St., Phil.

ROBERT DOUGLASS."

Up to this time, I had never before known or heard of Mr. Campbell, who was a West India gentlemen, native bred in Jamaica, but the recommendation of Mr. Douglass, an old acquaintance and gentleman of unsulied integrity, accompanied as it was by the following note from Dr. Wilson, also an accomplished gentleman of equal integrity, a physician, surgeon, and chemist, who, being selected by me as Surgeon and Naturalist of the party, also recommended Mr. Campbell in a detached note which has been mislaid, was sufficient at the time:

"Dr. Delany:—

"Dear Sir—I received your note of May 25th, through the kindness of R. Douglass, Jr., and can truly say. I am highly gratified to learn of so landable an enterprise and expedition; and would be happy and proud to be numbered with the noble hearts and brilliant minds, identified with it. Yet, whilst I acknowledge (and feel myself flattered by) the honor conferred upon me in being selected for so important and honorable position, I regret to inform you, that it will be wholly out of my power to accept.

Yery respectfully,

838, Lombard Street.

PHILADELPHIA, June 7th, 1858.

I have been the more induced to give the letters of Mr. Douglass and Dr. Wilson in favor of Mr. Campbell, because some of my friends were disposed to think that I "went out of the way to make choice of an entire stranger, unknown to us, instead of old and tried acquaintances," as they were pleased to express it. I had but one object in view—the Moral, Social, and Political Elevation of Ourselves, and the Regeneration of Africa, for which I desired, as a preference, and indeed the only adequate and essential means by which it is to be accomplished, men of African descent, properly qualified and of pure and fixed principles. These I endeavored to select by corresponding only with such of my acquaintances.

At the Council which appointed me Commissioner to Africa, having presented the names of Messrs. Douglass and Campbell, asking that they also might be chosen; at a subsequent meeting the following action took place:

Whereas, Dr. Martin R. Delany, Commissioner to Africa, having presented the names of Messrs. Robert Douglass and Robert Campbell of Philadelphia, Pa., U. S., requesting that they be appointed Commissioners, the Board having made him Chief Commissioner with full power to appoint his own Assistants, do hereby sanction the appointment of these gentlemen as Assistant Commissioners.

A paper was then laid hefore the Council, presenting the name and scheme of the party, which was received and adopted.

Dr. Amos Aray, surgeon, a highly intelligent gentleman, and Mr. James W. Purnell, also an intelligent young gentleman, bred to mercantile pursuits, having subsequently sent in their names and received appointments by the Chief Commissioner, the following document was made out:

AFRICAN COMMISSION.

The President and Officers of the General Board of Commissioners, viz: William H. Day, A.M., President; Matison F. Bailey, Vice-President; George W. Brodie, Secretary; James Madison Bell, Treasurer: Afried Whipper, Auditor; Dr. Martin R. Delany, Special Foreign Secretary; Abram D. Shadd, James Henry Harris, and Isaac D. Shadd, the Executive Council in behalf of the organization for the promotion of the political and other interests of the Colored Inhabitants of North America,

particularly the United States and Canada.

To all, unto whom these letters may come, greeting: The said General Board of Commissioners, in Executive Council assembled, have this day chosen, and by these presents do hereby appoint and authorize Dr. Martin Robison Delany, of Chatham, County of Kent, Province of Canada, Chief Commissioner; and Robert Douglass, Esq., Artist, and Prof. Robert Campbell, Naturalist, both of Philadelphia; Pennsylvania, one of the United States of America, to be Assistant Commissioners; Amos Aray, Surgeon; and James W. Purnell, Secretary and Commercial Reporter, both of Kent county, Canada West, of a Scientific Corps, to be known by the name of

THE NIGER VALLEY EXPLORING PARTY.

The object of this Expedition is to make a Topographical, Geological and Geographical Examination of the Valley of the River Niger, in Africa, and an inquiry into the state and condition of the people of that Valley, and other parts of Africa, together with such other scientific inquiries as may by them be deemed expedient, for the purposes of science and for general information; and without any reference to, and with the Board being entirely opposed to any Emigration there as such. Provided, however, that nothing in this Instrument be so construed as to interfere with the right of the Commissioners to negotiate in their own behalf, or that of any other parties, or organization for territory.

The Chief-Commissioner is hereby authorized to add one or more competent Commissioners to their number; it being agreed and understood that this organization is, and is to be exempted from the pecuniary responsibility of sending out this Ex-

pedition.

Dated at the Office of the Executive Council, Chatham, county of Kent. Province of Canada, this Thirtieth day of August, in the year of our Lord, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty-eight.

By the President,

WILLIAM HOWARD DAY.

WILLIAM HOWARD DAY.
ISAAC D. SHADD, Vice-President.*
GEORGE W. BRODIE, Secretary.

So soon as these names with their destined mission were officially published, there arose at once from officious meddlers (white) in Philadelphia, a torrent of opposition, who presuming to know more about us (the blacks) and our own business than we did ourselves, went even so far as to speak to one of our party, and tell him that we were not ready for any such important undertaking, nor could be in three years yet to come! Of course, as necessary to sustain this, it was followed up with a dissertation on the disqualification of the Chief of the Party, mentally and physically, external appearances and all. So effectually was this opposition prosecuted, that colored people in many directions in the United States and the Canadas, were not only affected by it, but a "Party" of three had already been chosen and appointed to supersede us! Even without any knowledge on my part, claims were made in England in behalf of the

^{*} Mr. Shadd was elected Vice-President in the place of Mr. Bailey, who left the Province for New Caledonia

"Niger Valley Exploring Party," solely through the instrumentality of

these Philadelphia white meddlers.

Such were the effects of this, that our preparatory progress was not only seriously retarded (I having to spend eight months in New York city to counteract the influence, where six weeks only would have been required), but three years originally intended to be spent in exploring had to be reduced to one, and the number of Commissioners from five to two, thereby depriving Mr. Robert Douglass from going, an old friend and most excellent gentleman, whose life, as well as that of his father before him, had been spent in efforts, not only of self-elevation, but the elevation also of his people. Many years ago, the accomplished articles of "Robet Douglass, Jun," to the United States Gazette, and other public journals, forced those negro-hating periodicals to respect at least the writer, if not his race. Dr. Aray, also an excellent gentleman who had given up business to join the party, was doomed to disappointment. And of Mr. Jas. W. Purnell-who met me in New York two weeks after my arrival, and through the whole eight months of adversity and doubtful progress, stood by me, performing the duty of Secretary, writing in every direction, copying, and from dictation for hours at a time—I cannot say too much. For a voung gentleman inexperienced in such matters, he has no superior; and for integrity, true-heartedness, and trustworthiness, in my estimation, he has few if any rivals. To this great and good uncle, under whom he was brought up, much of his character is to be credited.

As an expression of the feelings of the most intelligent emigrationists with whom I corresponded generally in America. I give below two extracts from letters of Professor Freemen. The Professor is now as he

then was, the Principal of Avery College.

"ALLEGHANY CITY, April 14th, 1858.

"MY DEAR FRIEND-Your letter of condolence was duly received, for which we

tender you our warmest thanks.

"I have read Bowen's work, and shall to-day purchase Livingstone's. I am more and more convinced that Africa is the country to which all colored men who wish to attain the full stature of manhood, and bring up their children to be men and not creeping things, should turn their steps; and I feel more and more every day, that I made a great mistake in not going there, when I was untrammelled by family ties, Respectfully yours,
M. H. FREEMAN." and had the opportunity.

Again the Professor says:

"I see that Emigration has broken out in the East, and that ---- can notice one now without scoffing at, which he could not in 1854. Well, people can grow wondrously wis r in four years. But it will take several more Olympiads to bring the

leaders among us up to the old Cleveland Platform of 1858.

" All the fault of that movement was this, that it was at least one generation ahead of the colored holds of our people. We may, if we please, refuse to emigrate, and crouch like spaniels, to lick the hand that beats us; but children's children at the farthest, will have outgrown such pitiful meanness, and will dare to do all that others have direct and done for the sake of freedom and independence. Then all this cowardly cant about the unhealthy climate, the voracious beasts, and venomous reptiles of Africa, will be at a discount, instead of passing current as now for wisdom and prudence."

Mr. Campbell, who finally agreed voluntarily to be one of the "Niger Valley Exploring Party," spent some time with us in New York and some time in Philadelphia, but finally, in consequence of the doubtful prospects of my success, left, it would seem, at the suggestion and with the advice and recommendation of parties in Philadelphia, disconnected with aud unknown to me, from whom he received letters of introduction to England. In justice to myself and party as organized, as well as the great cause and people whom I represent, I here simply remark, that this was no arrangement of mine nor our party, as such at the time; and whatever of success the visit was attended with, and benefit thereby accrued mutually to us in Africa, I as frankly decline any authority in the matter and credit to myself, as I should had the result proved what it might have done otherwise. I am only willing to claim that which is legitimately mine, and be responsible for my own doings whether good or bad; but this act the integrity of the Party was forced to acknowledge, as the following circular published in England will show:

EXPEDITION TO AFRICA,

TO PROMOTE THE CULTIVATION OF COTTON AND OTHER PRODUCTS OF SLAVE-LABOR,
BY EMIGRANTS FROM AMERICA.

A party, consisting of Martin R. Delany, M.D., Robert Campbell, J. W. Purnell, Robert Douglass, and Amos Aray, M.D., (the last two subsequently omitted) has been commissioned by a Convention of Colored Persons, held at Chatham, C.W., to proceed to Africa, and select a location for the establishment of an Industrial

Colony.

While such an enterprise is of importance in the Evangelization and Civilization of Africa, and in affording an asylum in which the oppressed descendants of that country may find the means of developing their mental and moral faculties unimpeded by unjust restrictions, it is regarded as of still greater importance in facilitating the production of those staples, particularly Cotton, which now are supplied to the world chiefly by Slave Labor. The effect of this would be to lessen the profits of Slavery, to render in time the slave a burden to his owner, and thus furnish an irresistible motive to Emancipation. Africa possesses resources which, properly developed, must doubtless render her eventually a great, if not the greatest, producer of all the products of Slave Labor. And how would all good men rejoice to see the blow which shall effectually prostrate the giant Slavery, struck by the Black Man's arm! It is necessary, however, that civilized influences be diffused in her midst, or, at least, that facilities for rendering available her products, be supplied equal to the demand for them.

It is the purpose of the party to proceed to Lagos, thence through Abeokuta to Rabba, on the Niger, about 350 miles from the coast; to study the Agricultural and Commercial facilities of the country, and the disposition of the Natives towards strangers as settlers; also to negotiate for the grant or purchase of land, and to ascertain the conditions on which we might be protected in the usages of civilized

life.

These objects being accomplished, the party will return and report the result of their labors, when a considerable number of intelligent and enterprising persons from the United States and Canada, many of them intimately acquainted with the production of Cotton, and its preparation for market will be prepared to the production of Cotton, and its preparation for market will be prepared to the production of Cotton and its preparation for market will be prepared to the production of Cotton and the productio

production of Cotton, and its preparation for market, will be prepared to emigrate. Towards defraying the expenses of this undertaking, £500 has been subscribed in America. This amount has been expended in providing for the families of two of the party in their absence; in paying the passage of Martin R. Delany and J. W. Purnell to Africa, direct from America, and providing them a few articles of outfit; in defraying the current expenses of the party since the 1st December ult. while engaged in soliciting subscriptions, and otherwise forwarding the objects of the Expedition; and in providing the Subscriber with the means of coming hither.

It is desired to raise in this country, in time to enable the Subscriber to depart for Africa in June by the steamer from Liverpool, an additional sum of £250, with which to provide other articles of outfit, and goods for trading with the natives for the means of subsistence, as well as to provide for other necessary and contingent

expenses.

The Subscriber will take the liberty of calling upon you personally at an early day, to solicit your aid in this enterprise.

MANCHESTER, May 13th, 1859.

ROBERT CAMPBELL.

Grant, for charity's sake, that it was done with the best of motives, it was flagrantly and fatally at variance with every principle of intelligent—to say nothing of enlightened—organizations among civilized men, and in perfect harmony with that mischievous interference by which the enemies of our race have ever sought to sow discord among us, to prove a natural contempt for the Negro and repugnance to his leadership, then taunt us with incapacity for self-government. These flambeaus and rockets directed with unerring precision, taking effect in the very centre of our magazine, did not cause, in those for whom it was intended, a falter nor a wince in their course, but steadily and determinedly they pressed their way to the completion of their object under prosecution. In this

design the enemy was thwarted.

I drop every reflection and feeling of unpleasantness towards my young brother Campbell, who, being a West Indian, probably did not understand those white Americans, and formed his opinion of American blacks and their capacity to "lead," from the estimate they set upon them. I owe it to posterity, the destiny of my race, the great adventure into which I am embarked and the position I sustain to it, to make this record with all Christian (or African, if you please) forgiveners, against this most glaring and determined act of theirs to blast the negro's prospects in this his first effort in the Christian Era, to work out his own moral and political salvation, by the regeneration of his Fatherland, through the medium of a self-projected scheme; and thereby take the credit to themselves. It was too great an undertaking for negroes to have the credit of, and therefore they must go under the auspices of some white American Christians. To be black, it would seem, was necessarily to be "ungodly;" and to be white was necessarily to be "godly," or Christian, in the estimation of some.

With a grateful heart, I here as freely record as an equal duty I owe to posterity, my unfeigned thanks to all those geutlemen who took an active part and in any way aided the mission on my behalf, either from the pulpit, by the contribution of books, stationery, charts, instruments, or otherwise, especially those who made each the one hundred dollar contribution, and the two in New York, through whose instrumentality and influence these were obtained. Those disinterested and voluntary acts of kindness I shall never forget whilst reason occupies her throne, and would here willingly record their names, had I their consent to do so.

I sailed from New York May 24th, in the fine barque Mendi—Captain M'Intyre—vessel and cargo owned by Johnson, Turpin and Dunbar, three enterprising colored gentlemen of Monrovia, Liberia, all formerly of New York, U.S. In the name of the General Board of Commissioners for the promotion of the political and other interest of the colored people of the

United States and the Canadas, by self exertion, I thank them.

I cannot close this section without expressing my obligations to Captain M'Intyre for his personal kindness to me; and also to his first officer, Captain Vernon Locke, (himself a ship-master, who took the position of first officer for the voyage, and who had been, for the last three or four

years, collecting scientific information by astronomical, meteerological, and other observations, for Lieutenant Maury, Director of the Observatory at Washington, D. C., U. S.,) I am greatly indebted for many acts of kindness in facilitating my microscopic and other examinations and inquiries, during the vovage. Concerning the nautilus and whale, I learned more through this accomplished seaman than I had ever learned before. The first by examination of the mollusca, which were frequently caught by Captain L. for my accommodation—and of the latter, by oral information received from him (who had been a great whaler) on frequently observing these huge monsters during the voyage.*

SECTION IV.

ARRIVAL AND RECEPTION IN LIBERIA.

Arrival in Saturday, July 10th .- I landed on the beach at Grand Africa. Cape Mount, Robertsport, in company with Messrs. the Hon. John D. Johnson, Joseph Turpin, Ellis A. Potter, and Dr. Dunbar, amid the joyous acclamations of the numerous natives who stood along the beautiful shore, and a number of Liberians, among whom was Reverend Samuel Williams, who gave us a hearty reception. Here we passed through the town (over the side of the hill), returning to the vessel after night.

Monday, July 12th.—The roadstead of Monrovia was made Monrovia. about noon, when I, in company with B. E. Castendyk, Esq., a young German gentleman traveling for pleasure, took lodgings at Widow Moore's, the residence of Rev. John Seys, the United States consular agent, and commissioner for recaptured Africans.

On the day after my arrival, the following correspondence took place:

* On the 16th of June, lat 35 deg. 35 min., long. 38 deg. 39 min., a very large school (the largest Captain Locke said that he had ever seen or read of), probably five hundred, of sperm whales made their appearance in the segment of a circle to windward and leeward of the vessel about noon, continuing in sight, blowing and spouting, filling the air with spray for a long time, to our amusement and delight. The captain said, though an old whaler, he had never known of sperm whales in that latitude before; and from the immense number, and as they were frequently seen as we approached Africa many times on different days afterwards, that he thought a new whaling point had been discovered. Other whales were also seen frequently in these latitudes—lazy, shy fold bulls," which floated with their buge backs and part of their heads out of water, so as to expose their eyes, when they would suddenly disappear and as quickly appear again: but the great quantity of squid spawn, the peculiar mellusca upon which the sperm whale feeds, made it ominous, according to the opinion of Captain Locke, that a great new sperm whale fishery had been discovered, the spawn being seen during several days' sail before and after obvserving the great school.

Nore .- I should not close this part of my report without stating that, during the year 1858, Mr. Myers wrote to the Royal Geographical Society, London; Thomas Clegg, Esq., Manchester: Dr. Livingstone, and perhaps others, all over my name as secretary and himself chairman. The letters referred to were written (without my kn wiedge) by a son of Mr. Myers; and I only mention the fact here because I am unwilling to claim the honor of the authorship of correspondence carried on through

a lad of sixteen years of age.

"Residence of the United States Consular Agent, "Monrovia, Liberia, July 12th, 1859.

"To His Excellency, the President of the Republic of Liberia:

"SIR-By a Convention of Colored People of the United States and the Canadas, Martin R. Delany, Robert Douglass, Robert Campbell, Amos Aray, and James W. Purnell, were appointed as Commissioners under the name of the 'Niger Valley Ex-

ploring Party,' to make an Exploration through different parts of Africa.

"I have arrived, Sir, near your Government, and expect soon to meet other members of the party. Any aid, orally, documentary, or in the person of an Official Commissioner, which you may please to give to facilitate the mission in Liberia will be gratefully and highly appreciated. I ask the favor of an interview with your Excellency, either privately or in Cabinet Council, or with any other gentlemen that the occasion may suggest, at such time as may be designated.

"I am happy, Sir, of the opportunity of giving your Excellency assurance of my M. R DELANY."

most distinguished consideration.

"His Excellency, President Benson."

"Government House, Monrovia, July 13, 1859.

"SIR-I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 12th instant, conveying to me the information of your appointment (in connection with colleagues expected soon to arrive) by a Convention of the colored people of the United States and the Canadas, 'Commissioners,' under the name of 'The Niger Valley Exploring Party;' and of your arrival near this Government. You have also been pleased to signify, that you will duly appreciate any aid, oral, documentary, or in the form of an official Commissioner this Government may feel disposed to afford you, in facilitation of the enterprise.

"In reply, I have to express my deep regret, that the receipt of your very interesting note is on the very eve of my leaving this city on an official visit to the leeward counties, which will, for the the present, deprive me of the pleasure I had anticipated of an interview with you on the very interesting and highly important

objects of your mission.

"The Hon. John N. Lewis, Secretary of State, with whom I will converse on the subject matter of your note before leaving, will be pleased to grant you an audience;

and will, with pleasure, meet your wishes, so far as he can consistently.

"Please be re-assured of the deep interest I feel in your very laudable enterprise; and that, if it were not for very important despatches received last week from the county of Maryland, which make it absolutely necessary that I should delay no time in reaching there, I would defer my departure a couple of days for the express purpose of consultation with you in person.

"I have the honor to be, most respectfully, "Your very obedient servant,

"To M. R. Delany, Esq., &c."

"STEPHEN A. BENSON." " Monrovia, July 13, 1859.

" Martin R. Delany, Esq. :

"DEAR SIR-The undersigned, citizens of the city of Monrovia, having long heard of you and your efforts in the United States to elevate our down-trodden race, though those efforts were not unfrequently directed against Liberia, are glad to welcome you, in behalf of the community, to these shores; recognizing, as they do in you, an ardent and devoted lover of the African race, and an industrious agent in promoting their interests. And they take this opportunity of expressing to you their most cordial sympathy with the enterprise which has brought you to these shores, sincerely praying that your endeavors may be crowned with complete success.

"The undersigned, further, in the name and behalf of the members of this community, respectfully request that you would favor the citizens with a lecture to-morrow evening, or on any other evening you may choose to appoint, at half-past seven

o'clock, on any subject you may be pleased to select.

"On receiving your reply notices will be issued accordingly.

"B. P. YATES. "H. W.

"D. B. WARNER,

"SAML. F. McGILL,

"B. V. R. JAMES, "SAML. MATHEWS, "H. W. DENNIS.

"URIAS A. McGILL, "H. A. JOHNSON,

"EDW. W. BLYDEN."

" Residence of the United States Consular Agent, "Monrovia, July 13th, 1859.

"GENTLEMEN-Your note of to-day by been received, for the honor of which I thank you, and beg to say that numerous engagements prevent me from complying with your request on to-morrow evening.

"You are mistaken, geatlemen, in supposing that I have ever spoken directly agains, Liberia, as wherever I have been I have always acknowledged a unity of interests in our race wherever located; and any seeming opposition to Liberia could

only be constructively such, for which I am not responsible.

"Should it be your pleasure, I will do myself the honor of serving you on Monday evening next, or any other evening during the week, by a discourse on the 'Political Destiny of the African Race, and assure you of the pleasure with which I have the honor to be,

"Your most obedient servant,

"M. R. DELANY."

"Col. B. P. Yates; Hon. D. B. Warner; S. F. McGill, M. D.; Hon. B. V. R. James; Rev. Saml. Matthews; Urias McGill, Esq.; Rev. Edw. W. Blyden; H. W. Dennis, Esq.; H. A. Johnson. Esq., District Attorney."

"M. R. Delany, Esq:

"Monrovia, July 14, 1859.

Sir-We have the honor to acknowledge your note of to-day in reply to an invitation of yesterday from us requisting that you would favor us, with many others, with an address on to morrow evening, or at any other time agreeable to yourself. Having signified to us that next Monday evening you would be pleased to comply with the request, we tender you our thanks and will be happy to listen to a discourse on the Political destiny of the African Race.

"We have the honor to be, very respectfully. &c., yours, "B. V. R. JAMES.

"SAML. MATTHEWS, "And others."

On Monday evening, the 19th of July, having addressed a Reception. crowded audience in the Methodist Episcopal Church, Ex-Governor McGill in the chair, T. M. Chester, Esq., Secretary; Ex-President Roberts rose and in a short speech, in the name of the Liberians, welcomed me to Africa. By a vote of thanks and request to continue the discourse on a subsequent evening, this request was complied with on the following Tuesday evening.

" Dr. M. R. Delany:

" Monrovia, July 28, 1859.

"DEAR SIR-The undersigned citizens of Monrovia having been much edified by listening to two very interesting lectures delivered by you in the M thodist church, avail themselves of this method to express their appreciation of the same, and to respectfully request that you will favor the community with a popular lecture on 'Physiology' on Friday evening, the 29th inst.

" HENRY J. ROBERTS. "SAML. F. McGILL,

" HENRY W. DENNIS, " EDWD. W. BLYDEN."

"B. P. YATES,

The reply to this polite invitation of Doctors Roberts and Public Lecture. McGill, and others, having been mislaid, I simply remark here that the request was complied with on the evening of August 3d, in the Methodist Church, to a crowded house of the most intelligent citi-

Departure from Monrovia. Coa-ting, Cape l'aimas.

zens of Monrovia, of both sexes and all ages. On the evening of August 5th, I left Monrovia in the bark Mendi, stopping at Junk, Little Bassa, Grand Bassa mouth of St. John's River, Sinou, arriving at Cape Palmas Sabbath noon, August 20th.

Half an hour after my arrival, I was called upon by the Rev. Mr. Hoffman, Principal of the Female Orphan Asylum, Greeting, at the residence of John Marshall, Esq., whose hospitality I was then receiving, and in the name of the white Missionaries welcomed to that part of Liberia. Before Mr. Hoffman left I was honored by a visit also from Rev. Alexander Crummell, Principal of Mount Vaughan High School, where, after partaking of the hospitality of Mr. Marshall

during that day and evening, I took up my residence during a month's stay in this part of Liberia. Having taken the acclimating fever on the 5th of the Correspondence

month, the day I left Monrovia, and besides regularly a des-

sert spoonful of a solution of the sulphate of quinia three times a day, and the night of my arrival two eight grain doses of Dover's Powder, the reference to "the state of my health" in the following correspondence, will be understood:

"To Dr. M. R. Delany:

"DEAR SIR-We, the undersigned citizens of the county of Maryland, Liberia, beg to tender you a heartfelt welcome to our neighborhood, and to assure you of our warmest interest in the important mission which has called you to the coast of Africa. Perhaps you will consent, should your health permit, to favor us with a public interview before you leave. We would be most happy to hear your views concerning the interests of our race in general, and of your mission in particular. Moreover, by so doing, you will afford us an opportunity of paying you that respect which your reputation, talents, and noble mission command, and which it is our sincere desire to

pay you.

"If Thursday or Friday will suit your convenience it will be agreeable to us; but

we leave the character of the meeting to be designated by yourself.

"JNO. E. MOULTON,

"ALEX. CRUMMELL. "Aug. 23, 1859. "THOS. FULLER, "D. R. FLETCHER, "RICHD. W. KNIGHT, "B. J. DRAYTON, "JOHN MARSHALL, "J. T. GIBSON, "GILES ELEM, "C. H. HARMON, "T. S. DENT, "S. B. D'LYON, " A. WOOD, "L. R. HAMILTON, "J. W. WILLIAMS, "BENJAMIN COOK, "H. W. MOULTON, "WM. W. PEARCE, "ANSBURN TUBMAN "R. A. GRAY, "JAS. ADAMS. "JAMES M. MOULTON, "J. W. COOPER." "N. JACKSON, Jun.,

> " Mount Vaughan, near Harper, Cape Palmas. " August 27th, 1859.

"Gentlemen-Your note of the 23d inst., requesting me, should my health permit, to appear before the citizens of your county, is before me, and for the sentiments therein expressed I thank you most kindly.

"As I have reason to believe that I am now convalescent from my second attack of native fever, should my health continue to improve I shall start on an exploration for the head of Kavalla river on Monday next ensuing, to return on Fridey evening,

"Should it be your pleasure, gentleman, and my health will permit. I will meet you on Monday, the 5th of September, the place and hour to be hereafter named according to circumstances.

"I assure you of the pleasure. Gentlemen, with which I have the honor to be, "Your most obedient servant. M. R. DELANY.

"Gen. Wood; Judge Drayton; Rev. Alex Crummell; John Marshall, Esq.; Hon. J. T. Gibson; C. H. Harmon, Esq.; J. W. Cooper, Esq.; Dr. Fletcher; Giles Elem, Fsq.; Jas. M. Moulton, Esq.; Benjamin Cook, Esq.; S. B. D'Lyon, M. D., and others, Committee, &c., &c.

On the evening of the 14th, this request was complied with in the Methodist Church at Latrobe, an out-village of Harper, by addressing a crowded assemblage of both sexes and all ages of the most respectable people of the Cape, on the part of whom I was most cordially welcomed by Rev. Alexander Crummell.

SECTION V.

LIBERIA .- CLIMATE, SOIL, PRODUCTIONS, ETC.

Territory, Cliabout 7 deg. 30 min north lat., on sea shore, north easterly to the western extremity of the most southern range of the Kong Mountains, lat. 4 deg. 30 min. The climate is generally salubrious, and quite moderate. But it is frequently somewhat oppressive, though mild and genial, and the high hills and mountain ranges sometimes enervating to strangers or foreigners from temperate climates, in consequence of the "air being freighted with fragrance" from the flowers and aroma of the exuberant, rich, rank growth of vegetable matter, as trees, shrubbery, and other herbage.

The temperature is seldom or never great, the average being 85 deg. Fahr.* This, it will be perceived, is but 5 deg. above summer temperature in the temperate zone of America, according to Fahrenheit's scale.

Comparative Temperature. It is worthy of observation that, by a natural law, we are nabled to compare the temperature in many parts of Africa satisfactorily with that of some other countries. There are parts of India, and also Central and South America, where it is said that bees cannot propagate, in consequence of their inability to build their cells because of the heat, the cera or wax melting in their hive or habitation. While in Africa such is not the case, there being no part known to civilized travelers where bees are not seen ever busy on every blossom, gathering their store, leaving laden with the rich delicacies of the blooming flowers; and Doctor Livingstone not only speaks most frequently of the profusion of honey in the extensive country through which he traveled, but says that, while near the coast in Loango, he encountered many persons laden with "tons of beeswax," carried on their heads exposed to the sun, on their way to the trading posts. And during our stay at Ab-

^{*}This day, August 2nd, 1861, while revising this Report, the thermometer Fahr, stands in the most favorable shade in the town of Chatham, Kent county, C.W., 96 deg. (98 is the general test of this day) and in the sun 113—being one degree above fever heat. A fact to which my attention was called by an intelligent Liberian—and which science may hereafter account for—that the nearer the approach to the equator, the more moderate is the heat. Has the sun the same effects upon the general bulk of the earth that it has upon particular locations—the greater the elevation the cooler—or is it because of the superior velocity of this part, that a current is kept up by its passage through the atmosphere surrounding it? It is a settled fact that the earth is relevated at the equator and depressed at the poles," and hills are cool, while valleys and plains are hot, because of their peculiar property of attracting and reflecting heat.

beokuta, Mr. Campbell, my colleague, had two swarms of bees; the first taken by him when in transitu (swarmed and hived, which bred a new swarm in the hive at the Mission House where we resided.

The soil is very rich, which, like that of other parts of Soil Stone. Africa through which I traveled, rates from a sandy loam to Minerals, Proa rich alluvial, resting on strata of granite, lime-stone, and ductions. quartz with a large per centage of mica, profusely incorporated with iron, and doubtless other rich minerals not yet discovered. Palm oil and camwood are abundant, comprising the principal articles of native products for exportation; a good deal of ivory from the interior through the Golah country, but not so much as formerly; palm nuts, which principally go to France; ginger, arrowroot, pepper, coffee, sugar and molasses, to which three latter articles (as well as pepper, ginger and arrowroot,) the industrious citizens of Liberia have, during the last six years, turned their

The stock consists of fowls of various kinds—as chickens, ducks, common and Muscovy; Guinea fowls in abundance; mals, Fowls, turkeys, and on one farm—the Gaudilla farm of William Spencer Anderson, Esq., sugar planter, on the St. Paul River

-geese. Neither are the cows so small as supposed to be from the general account given of them by travelers. Those which are common to. and natives of this part of Africa, which I shall classify as the Bassa (pronounced Bassaw) cattle, are handsome and well-built, comparing favorably in size (though neither so long-legged nor long bodied) with the small cattle in the interior counties of Pennsylvania, U. S., where no attention is paid scientifically to the breeding of cattle; though the Liberia or Bassa are much the heaviest, and handsomely made like the Golah. or Fulatah, hereafter to be described, resembling the Durham cattle of England in form. Also swine, goats, and sheep are plentiful.

I saw but one horse in Liberia, and that on the Gaudilla Horses, none. farm of Mr. Anderson; and though, as the Liberians them-

selves informed me, they have been taken there by the Mandingo and Golah traders, they never lived. And why-if they live in other parts of Africa, on the western coast, which they do, even near the Mangrove swamps, as will hereafter be shown-do they not live in Liberia, the civilized settlements of which as yet, except on the St. Paul and at Carevsburg, are confined to the coast? There are certainly causes for this, which I will proceed to show.

In the first place, horses, like all other animals, must have Horse Feed, Pasturage, hay. feed naturally adapted to their sustenance. This consists mainly of grass, herbage, and grains, especially the latter, when the animal is domesticated. Secondly, adequate shelter from sun and weather, as in the wild state by instinct they obtain these necessary comforts for themselves.

Up to the time, then, when the Liberians ceased the experiment of keeping horses, they had not commenced in any ex-Farms-No vensive manner to cultivate farms; consequently did not produce either maize (Indian corn), Guinea corn (an excellent

article for horses in Africa, resembling the American broom corn both in the stock, blade, and grain, the latter being larger and browner than those

of the broom corn, and more nutricious than oats); peas, nor any other grain upon which those animals are fed, and the great, heavy, rich, rank, pseudo reed-grass of the country was totally unfit for them, there being no grass suited either for pasturage or hay. Again, I was informed by intelligent, respectable Liberians, that to their knowledge there never had been a stable or proper shelter prepared for a horse, but that they had, in one or more instances, known horses to be kept standing in the sun the entire day, and in the open air and weather during the entire night, while their owners had them.

It is very evident from this, that horses could not live in No Horses; Liberia, and since the tsetse fly introduced to the notice of the scientific world recently by Doctor Livingstone the African Explorer, has never been seen nor heard of in this part of the continent, nor any other insect that tormented them, those must have been the prime causes of fatality to these noble and most useful domestic creatures. I have been thus explicit in justice to Liberia, even in opposition to the opinion of some very intelligent and highly qualified gentlemen in that country (among whom is my excellent friend, Doctor Roberts, I think,) because I believe that horses can live there as well as in other parts of Africa, when fairly and scientifically inquired into and tested. Proper feed and care, I have no doubt, will verify my opinion; and should I but be instrumental, by calling the attention of my brethren in Liberia to these facts, in causing them successfully to test the matter, it will be but another evidence of the fact, that the black race should take their affairs in their own hands, instead of placing them in the hands of others.

My explorations in Liberia extended to every civilized set-Farms, Sugar, tlement in the Republic except Careysburg, and much beyond these limits up the Kavalla River. There is much improvement recently up the St. Paul River, by the opening up of fine, and in some cases, extensive farms of coffee and sugar; also producing rice, ginger, arrowroot, and pepper, many of which have erected upon them handsome and well-constructed dwellings; also sugar mills and machinery for the manufacture of sugar and molasses, which articles manufactured, compare favorably with the best produced in other countries. There has, as yet, been no improvement introduced in the hulling and drying coffee, there being probably not enough produced to induce the introduction of machinery. I am informed that there have also been commenced several good farms on the Junk River, which district, farther than the settlement at the mouth, I did not visit. The people are willing and anxious for improvement, and on introducing to many of the farmers the utility of cutting off the centre of each young coffee-tree so soon as it grew above the reach of a man of ordinary height, I had the satisfaction of seeing them immediately commence the execution of the work. The branches of the tree spread, in proportion to the checking of the height; hence, instead of eight feet apart, as some of the farmers have done, the trees should be planted at least twenty feet apart, thus leaving ample space-between for the spreading of the branches. The tree should never be permitted to grow too high to admit of the berry being picked from the ground, or at least from a stand which may be stepped upon without climbing.

The schools are generally good, every settlement being amply accommodated with them; and in Monrovia and at

Cape Palmas the classics are being rigidly prosecuted.*

Churches are many and commodious, of every Christian Churches denomination—except, I believe, the Roman Catholic. The Missionaries seem to be doing a good work, there being many earnest and faithful laborers among them of both sexes, black and white, and many native catechists and teachers, as well as some few preachers.

The principal business carried on in Liberia is that of trading in native and foreign produce, the greater part being at Professions, the Capital. The greater part of merchants here are Liberi- Medicine, Law. ans; but there are also three white houses-two German and one American. And along the coast there are a number of native trading-posts, the proprietors of which are white foreigners, with black agents. Many of the Liberian Clergy of all denominations are well educated gentlemen; and the Medical Profession is well represented by highly accomplished Physicians; but of all the professions, the Law is the most poorly represented—there being, as I learnt when there, but one young gentlemen at the bar who had been bred to the profession; and not a Judge on the bench who was learned in the law. This I do not mention in disparagement of the gentlemen who fill those honorable positions of presiding over the legal investigations of their country, as many-indeed, I believe the majority of them-are clergymen, who from necessity have accepted those positions, and fill their own legitimate callings with credit. I sincerely hope that the day is not far distant when Liberia will have her learned counsellors and jurists-dispensing law, disseminating legal opinions, and framing digests as well as other countries, for the benefit of

At Grand Bassa I held a Council with some of the most eminent Liberians, among whom were several members of the National Legislature—the venerable Judge Henson in the chair. Several able speeches were made—the objects of my mission and policy approved; and I shall never forget the profound sensation produced at that ever-memorable Council, and one of the most happy hours of my life. When the honored old judge and sage, sanctioning my adventure, declared that, rather than it should fail, he would join it himself, and with emotion rose to his feet; the effect was inexpressible, each person being as motionless as a statue.

The laws of Liberia seem to be well constructed, and framed to suit the wants of the people, and their public Municipal and affairs are quite well and creditably conducted. But there is a great deficiency in public improvements, and, as I learned—and facts from actual observation verified until comparatively

^{*}The "Liberia College" has been fully established since my visit there, by the erection of a fine stone edifice, and the choice of the Hon. Ex-President Joseph Jenkins Roberts, President and Professor of Jurisprudence and International Law; Rev. Alexander Crummell, A.B., Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy and English Literature; Rev. Edward Wilmot Blydon, Professor of Greek and Latin Languages and Literature. This is a grand stride in the march of African Regeneration and Negro Nationality.

recent—also in public spirit. There are no public buildings of note, or respectable architectural designs; no harbor improvements, except a lighthouse, each on the beautiful summit rock-peaks of Cape Messurado and Cape Palmas—not even a buoy to indicate the shoal; no pier, except a little one at Palmas; nor an attempt at a respectable wharfage for canoes and lighters (the large keels owned by every trading vessel, home and foreign, which touches there.) And, with the exception of a handsome wagon-road, three and a half miles out from Harper, Cape Palmas, beyond Mount Vaughan, there is not a public or municipal road in all Liberia. Neither have I seen a town which has a paved street in it, although the facilities for paving in almost all the towns are very great, owing to the large quantities of stone everywhere to be had.

And what is surprising, Monrovia, although the capital, The Capital has not a city municipality to give it respectability as such; hence, there is neither mayor nor council (city council I mean) to give character to any public occasion, but His Excellency the President, the Chief Executive of the nation, must always be dragged down from his reserved and elevated position, and made as common as a common policeman, to head every little petty affair among the people. The town was once, by the wisdom of some legislators, chartered into a city, and Dr. S. F. M'Gill (ex-governor) chosen mayor, who, by his high intelligence and fitness for the office, had commenced the most useful and commendable improvements; but the wisdom of other legislators, after a year's duration, in consequence of the heavy expenses incurred to "make Monrovia, where big folks lived, a fine place," repealed the act, degrading their Capital to a town. That is the same as declaring that a court shall not have a judge—the nation a President or Executive, or there shall be no head at all; hence, to reduce the judge to the grade of a lawyer, the lawyer to that of the clerk of the court, the President of the nation to that of the county magistrate, and the county magistrate to that of a consta-How much respect would a people be entitled to who would act thus? They must understand that nothing is greater than its head, and the people of a nation cannot rise above the level of the head of their nation any more than the body of the individual in its natural position can be raised above the head. It is just so with a town population. A villager is a villager, a citizen is a citizen, and a metropolitan is a metropolitan-each of which is always expected to have a standing commensurate with his opportunities.

One word as a suggestion in political economy to the ways and Means. Young politician of Liberia: Always bear in mind, that the fundamental principle of every nation is self-reliance, with the ability to create their own ways and means: without this, there is no capacity for self-government. In this short review of public affairs, it is done neither to disparage nor under rate the gentlemen of Liberia with whom, from the acquaintance I have made with them in the great stride for black nationality, I can make common cause, and hesitate not to regard them, in unison with ourselves, a noble band of brothers.

There has been much progress made in the various industrial vocations within a few years past by the munificence of President Benson, aided by the wisdom of the Legislature,

through the agency of a national agricultural fair, with liberal premiums on samples exhibited in a spacious receptacle prepared each season for the purpose, in the Public Square in front of the President's mansion, called Palm Palace. Like his predecessor President Roberts, in pressing the claims of his country before the nations of Europe, President Benson has spared no authority which he possessed in developing the agricultural resources of his country. Every man has his forte, and in his turn probably becomes a necessity for the time being, according to his faculty. Consequently my opinion is, that the forte and mission of President Roberts for the time being was the establishment of a Nationality, and that of President Benson the development of its resources, especially the agricultural. Neither of these gentlemen, therefore, might be underrated, as each may have been the instrument which God in his wisdom appointed to a certain work.

To John Moore, Esq., Government Surveyor; the Hon. B. P. Yates, ex-Vice-President of the Republic; Hon. John

Seves, U. S. Agent for Re-captured Africans, and Consular Agent, I am much judebted for acts of kindness in facilitating my Explorations in Liberia. The Hon. Mr. Seys and Mr. Moore, for personally accompanying me up the St. Paul River; and Colonel Yates, for the loan of his fine canvas-covered boat for my use. Also to Dr. Henry J. Roberts. for remedies and medicines for my own use; Dr. Thomas F. M'Gill, for offering to make advances on articles of merchandise which I took out on trade to bear expenses, much beyond the market price; and to those excellent gentlemen, Messrs. Johnson, Turpin, and Dunbar, also for large advances made above market price in cash for my commodity, as well as other favors, especially on the part of Mr. Johnson, who, having for years been a resident in Monrovia, did everything to advance my mission and make my duty an agreeable one.

To the Rev. Alexander Crummell, who accompanied me up the Kavalla, above the Falls, making my task an easy one; to Drs. Fletcher and D'Lyon, who rendered me professional aid, and also to our excellent, faithful, and reliable guide, Spear Mehia, a native civilized Christian Prince, the son of the old friend of the missionaries, Nmehia, the deceased King of Kavalla, I here make acknowledgments. And I cannot close this section without an acknowledgment that, wherever I went, the people of the country generally did everything to make me happy—Esquire Wright at Junk, Dr. Smith at Grand Bassa, and the Hon. Mr. Priest at Sinon, whose guest I was, all here will receive my thanks for their aid in

facilitating my mission.

I conclude this section by remarking, that Monrovia is one of the handsomest and most eligible sites for a city that Sites of Towns, I ever saw, and only lacks the population and will of the people to make it a most beautiful place; and how much it is to be regretted that the charter was repealed, and Mayor M'Gill and the City Council cut off in the beginning of the first steps towards a national pride, which was to have a Capital City in reality as well as name.* How

I am happy to learn by advices recently received from Liberia, that Monrovia has again been created and organized a City Municipality, ex-Judge James, Mayor

unsightly to a stranger, as he steps from the boat at the mouth of Stockton Creek, on the Messurado River, is the rude and rugged steep, leading by simple pathways in true native style, from the warehouses up to the town, which, if improved as it might and should be, would be one of the most pleasing as well as attractive approaches to any city in the world. Not even is there a respectable public market-house or market space in town. But wisdom decreed it otherwise, and for the present it must be so. "Wisdom" in this case "hath" not "built her house," neither "hath she hewn out" the stone "pillars" leading from the beach.

Another good site for a city is Edina, on the north-east side of the St. John River, opposite Buchanan, Grand Bassa, which doubtless in time Buchanan will include. This is also a handsome place, from the gradually rising elevation. Edina is the residence of that great-hearted, good old gentleman, Judge Henson. Junk, Little Bassa, and Sinou, are also good, but each of these are low, and consequently not so imposing.

Next to Monrovia is Cape Palmas for beauty of location and scenery, and a stranger will more readily be pleased at first sight with Harper than the Capital. A beautiful city will in time occupy the extensive Cape for several miles back, including Mount Vaughan and the country around; and it may be remarked, that this place presents greater evidences of public improvement than any town in Liberia, and the only place in the country which has a regular wagon road with ox-teams running upon it.

The private buildings in Liberia are generally good and Buildings substantial, and especially those of Monrovia, built of brick. Many of them are handsome and quite extensive mansions, the warehouses mostly being built of stone. The wooden houses generally are well-built frames, and "weather-boarded," and not, as some romancers and wonder-venders would have it, being either log, bamboo, or mud huts. To take the settlers generally, there cannot be much fault found with their style of living, except perhaps in some instances, rather a little too much extravagance. Caldwell, Clay-Ashland, and Millsburg on the St. Paul, are pleasant and prospectively promising villages, and deserve a notice in this place. Clay-Ashland is the residence of Judge Moore, to whom I am indebted for personal favors and much useful information when examining the land over his extensive sugar and coffee farms. And to my excellent friend . Dr. Daniel Laing, of the same place, for similar acts of courtesy and kindness, I am much indebted.

Public Meeting. I addressed the citizens in a very large political meeting in the Methodist church, on the evening of my visit there.

and I should have named in connection with the public spirit of Liberia, three newspapers—the Liberia Herald, Star of Liberia, and Christian Advocate—the last, a religious journal, under the auspices of that excellent Christian gentleman, Bishop Burns,

SECTION VI.

DISEASES-CAUSE-REMEDY.

The first sight and impressions of the coast of Africa are always inspiring, producing the most pleasant emotions. Symptoms. These pleasing sensations continue for several days, more or less, until they gradually merge into feelings of almost intense excitement, not only mentally, but the entire physical system share largely in it, so that it might be termed a hilarity of feeling almost akin to approaching intoxication; or as I imagine, like the sensation produced by the beverage of champagne wine. Never having enjoyed the taste of it, I cannot say from experience.

The first symptoms are succeeded by a relaxity of feelings, Second stage of in which there is a disposition to stretch, gape, and yawn, Symptoms.

with fatigue.

The second may or may not be succeeded by actual febrile attacks, with nausea, chills, or violent headache; but whether symptoms or not such symptoms ensue, there is one most remarkable, as almost (and I think quite) a necessary affection, attendant upon the acclimation at this incipient stage: a feeling of regret that you left your native country for a strange one; an almost frantic desire to see friends and nativity; a despondency and loss of the hope of ever seeing those you love at home again.

These feelings, of course, must be resisted, and regarded as a mere morbid affection of the mind at the time, arrising from an approaching disease, which is not necessarily serious, and may soon pass off; which is

really the case.

It is generally while laboring under this last-described symptom, that persons send from Africa such despairing accounts of their disappointments and sufferings, with horrible feelings of dread for the worst to come.

When an entire recovery takes place, the love of the country is most ardent and abiding. I have given the symp-

toms first, to make a proper impression first.

I have thought it proper to give a section in my Report Diseases, entirely to the diseases of Liberia, which are the same as those in other parts of Africa, with their complication with diseases carried from America by the settlers.

The native diseases are mainly the native fever, which is nothing but the intermittent fever of America, known in different parts as ague, chills and fever, fever and ague, with its varied forms of bilious, intermittent, remittent, continued, and in its worst form of inflammatory, when it most generally assumes the congestive type of the American Southern States. In this condition, the typhoid symptoms with coma, give unmistakeable evidence of the character of the malady. The native fever which is common to all parts of Africa, in Liberia while to my judgment not necessarily fatal (and in by far the greater per centage of cases in the hands character in of an intelligent, skilful physician, quite manageable), is

generally much worse in its character there than in the Yoruba country, where I have been. The symptoms appear to be much more aggravated

and the patient to suffer more intensely,

The density and rankness of the vegetable growth, the saturation of the air continually with fragrance, and other miasma, and the malaria from the mangrove swamps. I assign as the cause of difference in the character of the same disease in different parts of the continent. The habits also of the settlers, have much to do with the character of the disease. A free indulgence in improper food and drink, which doubtless is the case in many instances, are exciting causes to take the malady, and aggravating when suffering under it.

There are several other diseases that might be named, which I reserve for a section on another part of Africa, and confine my remarks simply to the complication of the native with foreign. All scorbutic, scrofulous, or syphilitic persons, where the affection has not been fully suppressed, may become easy victims to the fever in Liberia, or lingering sufferers from ulcers, acute rheumatism, or elephantiasis—a frightful enlargement of the limbs. Ulcerated opthalmia is another horrible type, that disease in such chronically affected persons may assume. But any chronic affection—especially lung, liver, kidney, and rheumatic—when not too deeply seated, may, by favorable acclimation, become eleminated, and the ailing person entirely recover from the disease.

Remedics, Natural and Artificial.

The natural remedy for the permanent decrease of the native fever, is the clearing up and cultivation of the land, which will be for some time yet to come, tardy; as emigration to Liberia is very slow, and the natives, very unlike those of Yoruba—cultivate little or nothing but rice, cassaba, and yams, and these in comparative small patches, so that there is very little need for clearing off the forest. Neither have they in this part of Africa any large towns of substantial houses, all of which would necessitate a great deal of clearing; but instead, they consist of small clusters of reed or bamboo huts in a circle, always in the densest of the forest, which can scarcely ever be seen (except they be situated on a high hill) until you are right upon them. The clearing away of the mangrove swamps—which is practicable—will add greatly to the sanitary condition of Liberia; but this also will take time, as it must be the work of a general improvement in the country, brought about by a populating and civilizing progress.

The treatment of the native fever must be active and prudential. But the remedies are simple and easily obtained, being such as may be had at any well-kept apothecary's shop: The sulphate of quinia, in moderate doses, three or four times a day, with the usual attention to the febrile changes, gentle aperients, effervescent and acidulous drinks, taking care to prevent acridness in the stomach. In my advice to persons going to Africa, I shall speak more pointedly of the

domestic or social customs to be avoided.

I observed that all elevated places, as Monrovia and Freetown, subject to severe visitations of disease, are situated near mangrove swamps; consequently, from the *rising* of the *malaria*, they are much more unhealthy than those in low plains, such as Lagos and many other places, above which the *miasma* generally rises, for the most part passing off harmlessly.

I left Cape Palmas, Liberia, on Thursday, 2 p.m. the 15th of Sept., on the British Royal Mail African steamer, "Armenian," Captain Walker, to whom and his officers, I make acknowledgments for acts of kindness.

SECTION VII.

THE INTERIOR-YORUBA.

Thursday, the 20th of September, about noon, after stop-consting. Cape ping at Cape Coast Castle for twelve hours, on the Coast of Coast Castle, Benin, the steamer made her moorings in the roadstead, Bight Dight of Benin, Gulf of Guinea, off Lagos. I disembarked, going ashore with the mail-boat managed by natives; from whence, by the politeness of the gentlemanly young clerk (a native gentleman) of Captain Davies', a native merchant, I was taken in a sail-boat, also manned by natives, up the bay, and landed at the British Consulate; whence I was met by Mr. Carew, the native agent of the Rev. J. M. Harden, a most excellent man, Missionary, and conducted to the Baptist Mission House

After a stay of five weeks, visiting almost every thing and place worthy of note, being called upon by many of the most noted persons, among whom were several chiefs, having several interviews with the authorities, and meeting the most active, intelligent, Christian young men, in several of their associated gatherings, I was waited on by the messenger of the king; when after several interchanges of "words" between us, the following instrument of writing was "duly executed, signed, sealed, and delivered," I and Mr. Harden being present, and witnessing the measurement of the land,

according to the present custom in that place:

TITLE DEED. Dr. M. R. DELANY.

Know all Men by these Presents:

That I DOCEMO, King of Lagos and the Territories thereun to belonging, have this day granted, assigned, and made over, unto Doctor Martin R. Delany, for his use and the use of his Heirs and Assigns forever, All that Piece of Ground, situated on the South of the Premises and Ground occupied by Fernando, in the field at Okai Po. Po, measuring as follows. Three Hundred and Thirty Feet square.

Witness my Stamp hereunto affixed, and the Day and Year above written.



BRITISH CONSULATE.

Lagos, October 28th, 1859.

I CERTIFY that the Circular Stamp, as above, with King DOCEMO, or Lagos in the centre, is the Official Stamp of Docemo, King of Lagos, and is used by him as his signature to all Letters, Deeds, and Documents.

EDWD. F. LODDER,
Acting Consul.

The Deed of Land above, granted to Doctor Martin R. Delany, by King Docemo of Lagos, has this 18th day of October, 1859, been registered in the Registry Book of the British Consulate, and numbered.

JOHN P. BOYLE, Clark.

On the 30th of October, I left Lagos, proceeding via Ogun river, to Abbeokuta, which I reached on Saturday, the 5th of November.

Here I met for the first time with my colleague and Assistableokua.

Here I met for the first time with my colleague and Assistableokua.

Abbeokua.

Lagos, I found a letter waiting for my arrival in the hands of Acting Consul, Lieut. Edward F. Lodder, of Her Majesty's war vessel "Brun," which continually lies in the harbor, directly opposite and near to the Consulate. Consul Campbell (since deceased), had paid an official visit to Eugland, and Lieut. Lodder was supplying his place.

From Abbeokuta, population 110,000, we proceeded to Ijaye, population 78,000, reckoned by the white missionaries and officers of the Niger Expedition of Her Majesty's service, who passed through once, at 80,000; Oyo, population, 75,000; Ogbonoso, population 70,000; Illorin, population 120,000; returning back, via Ogbomoso to Oyo: when by arrangement, Mr. Campbell leaving me at Oyo, returned to Abbeokuta by a new route through Ison and Biolorin-Pellu, small places: whence I, a week later, also by another strange route, returned, passing through Iwo, population 75,000; and Ibadčan, population 150,000, an immense city, the estimated number of inhabitants by the Civil Corps who passed through, being 250,000. It will be seen that I have made a liberal deduction of two-fifths, or 100,000 from this estimate; still, the population is immense and the city extensive, the walls embracing an outline of at least twenty-three miles.

From Abbeokuta, the water being very low, it was thought advisable that Mr. Campbell take charge of all our luggage, and proceed by way of the Ogun to Lagos, (h) having disposed of his horse at Abbeokuta) whilst I, on horseback, with William Johnson our cook, the only servant we retained—a civilized native—as guide and attendant, proceeded by land, both reaching Lagos three days after, in the same hour of the same day.

SECTION VIII.

TOPOGRAPHY, CLIMATE, ETC.

The whole face of the country extending through the Aku region or Yoruba, as it is laid down on the large missionary map of Africa, is most beautifully diversified with plains, hills, dales, mountains, and valleys, interlined with numerous streams, some of which are merely temporary or great drains; whilst the greater part are perennial, and more or less irrigating the whole year, supplying well the numerous stocks of cattle and horses with which that country is so well everywhere provided. The climate is most delightful.

The first plateau or low land from Lagos, extends about thirty-five or forty miles interiorly, with but occasionally, small rugged or rocky elevation sbreaking the surface, when it almost absecond Plateau, ruptly rises into elevated lands, undulating and frequently or Table Lands. eraggy, broken often by deep declivities of glens and dales.

The soil of the first plateau, for ten or fifteen miles, is moist and sandy, more or less, gradually incorporating with a dark rich earth, which, extending quite through the second plateau, continually varies in quality, consistence, and color, from a sandy loam and clay-red iron pyrite appearance to a potter's-clay, and rich alluvial color and quality, the whole being exceedingly fertile and productive; as no district. through which we traveled was without cultivation more or less, and that always in a high degree, whatever the extent of ground under cultivation or the produce cultivated.

The stone formation throughout these regions consist of primitive dark-gray granite, quartz, and conglomerates, with, Formation. occasionally, strata of felspar and mica, which are found mainly in the beautiful mount in regions (which are detailed extensions of the great mountains of Kong), having in these sections always beauti-

ful gaps or passes of delightful valleys.

The minerals consist of iron in the greatest abundance, which at present is smelted by the natives from the clay, and every town of any note or size has not only its blacksmiths' shops, but the largest all have iron smelting works. At Ijaye there is quite an extensive and interesting establishment of the kind. And, as they manufacture brass, there must be also zinc and copper found there-indications of the last-named metal being often seen by the color of certain little water surfaces. The stone formation bears the usual indications of aqueous and igneous deposits, but more of the former than of the latter.

The timber is numerous, and for the following classification I am indebted to my learned friend the Rev. Alexander Crummell, Episcopal missionary and Principal of the Mount Vaughn High School at Cape Palmas: Teak, ebony, lignum vitæ, mahogany, brimstone, rosewood, walnut, hickory, oak, cedar, unevah, and man-

grove.

muskmelon or cantelope.

Gum Yoruba (the same as gum Arabic), acacia or senna, castor oil, croton oil, rhubarb root, colomba-root, ipecacu- Productions anha, quasia, nux-vomica, cubebs, tobacco, and many others.

All the fruits common to the tropics are found in these

regions; in fact, so redundant is Africa with these productions, that she combines the whole within herself; that is, there are some fruits found in the tropical parts of Asia, South America, the Asiatic and West India Islands, common or peculiar to one which may not be found in the other, but all of which, it may safely be said, can be found in Africa. Pincapples the most delicious in flavor and taste conceivable oranges the same, bananas the finest, plantains equally so, mangrove plums (a peculiar but delightful and wholesome fruit, said by the natives to be a febrifage), guavas, and "soursops," a delightful fe rifage of pure citric acid, without the least acridness, as well as a hundred others which I cannot now name. The papaw or tree-melon also grows very finely here, and is a very useful and wholesome fruit. When given, "stewed and mashed," and well-flavored with the usual culinary spices, it cannot be distinguished from the best green apple sauce-for which reason it

makes excellent pies. When fully ripe, it cannot be told from the finest

The Agricultural labor of this part of Africa is certainly very great, and merits the attention of every intelligent inquirer; from the simple fact that, so far as it exhibits the industry of the inhabitants, it shows the means which may be depended apon for a development of the commercial resources of the country.

Palm oil is produced in great abundance, as a staple commodity among themselves, as well as for exportation, since the common light for houses consists of palm oil burnt in native manufactured lamps, some constructed of iron and others of earthenware. The oil of the nut is the most general in use among the natives, both for light and cooking, because it is the richest, being the most unctuous. This use of the nut-oil is certainly an antiquated custom among the people of this region, whilst those contiguous to Liberia have recently learned that the kernels could be put to commercial use, by the discovery or rather practical application by Mr. Herron, of Grand Bassa, Liberia, and subsequent demand by the French traders. The fact that the Yorubas generally produce their charcoal from the hull of the palm nut, is an evidence of the ion recontinued and abundant use of the latter article for the manufacture of ot. They have regular establishments for the manufacture of the palm oil, with vats and apparatus (simple though they be), places and persons for such process: as bruising the fruit from the nut, boiling, carrying the pain to a vat, where it is pressed and washed to extract the oil; one to skin it off from the top of the liquid-another to carrry off the fiber of the pa'p or bruised fruit, which fiber is also appropriated to kindling and other uses. There is no such method of extracting the oil, as the mistaken idea so frequently reported by African traders from Europe and Apprica, that the natives bruise the nut with stones in holes made in the ground, thereby losing a large per centage of the oil. Even among the gradest they know better than this, and many use shallow troughs. make of wood in some parts of Africa, as the Grebo, Golah, and some other peoples on the western coast, adjacent to Liberia,

All through the Yoruba country the palm tree is cultivated. Palm thees being regularly trimmed and pruned, and never cut down in Omnivated. Camwood. elearing a farm, except when from age the tree has ceased to wory. bear, or is of the male species, when it is cut down for the wine, which is the sap, extracted from the trunk, in a horizontal position,

by boring a hole near the top and catching it in a vessel, when it is drunk either before, during, or after fermentation.

Camwood is also very plentiful, but owing to its great weight and the inconvenience at present of transportation, it does not enter exten sively into the commerce of these parts, except as dyestuffs in the native markers.

Ivory enters largely into commerce, being brought by "middle men from the distant interior.

Indian corn, the finest in the world (usually white), is here indian countr raised in the greatest quantities, we having frequently passed. through hundreds of acres in unbroken tracts of cultivated hand, which is beginning to enter into foreign commegee; Guinea corn in great abundance—an excellent article for aorses, spoken of in another place; also peas, such as are raised for

horse and cattle feed in Canada and other parts of America; white beans in great quantities, as well as those of all colors; black-eye peas; horse beans; in fact, all of the pulse vegetables; also ginger, arrowroot, red pepper in pods (the cayenne of commerce), and black pepper, all of which are articles of commerce; indigo; they also produce salt.

Yams, cassaba, sweet potatoes, onious, cucumbers, and many other culinary roots and vegetables; and I am certain Vegetables.

that beets, parsnips, and carrots, which we did not see under cultivation, could be successfully raised, if desired. Cabbage grows freely in all parts of Africa, if planted in the right season.

Whether or not the common potato of America and

Europe can be propagated here has not been tested, but such is the excellence of the yam, that served up in the same manner, there is little or no difference between them and potatoes; and I am certain that when well cooked, "mashed" and seasoned, the best judge could not tell them from good potatoes. I mean good yams, because they differ in

quality like potatoes.

Crockeryware is manufactured very extensively, of almost cvery conceivable size and kind of vessel, for various purform, Brass, poses. Some of them are quite handsome, and all nearly of the ancient oriental mould. The largest earthen vessels I ever saw are made by these people, some of them being large enough for small cisterns. Iron implements for agricultural and military, as well as other domestic purposes, are made by them in every large city. They make excellent razors, which shave quite well, as also other steel-bladed knives, which prove that they have the art of tempering iron. Brass as well as glass ornaments and trinkets are made in considerable quantities.

The people are of fine physical structure and anatomical conformation, well and regularly featured; not varying more in this particular from the best specimen of their own race than the Caucasian or Anglo-Saxon from that of theirs. They are very polite—their language abounding in vowels, and consequently euphonious and agreeable—affable, sociable, and tractable, seeking information with readiness, and evincing willingness to be taught. They are shrewd, intelligent, and industrious, with high conceptions of the Supreme Being, only using their images generally as mediators. "So soon," said an intelligent missionary. "as you can convince them that there is a mediator to whom you may talk, but cannot see, just so soon can you make Christians of them;" their idea being that God is too great to be directly approached; therefore there must be a mediator to whom they must talk that they can see, when

After my arrival at Abbeokuta, not going out for two days, they expecting me through information from Mr. Campbell, the third day the Chief Atambala called upon me, invi-

God will listen and answer if pleased.

seth, the third day the Chief Atamona Carter upon the, inviting me in turn to call and see him. In a few days after, the king had a popular religious festival in the great public space, where there were assembled many chiefs and elders; but, on our approach, the old king sent his messenger to escort us to the porch of the piazza upon which he was seated, eagerly grasping me by the hand, bidding me welcome to Abbeokuta and his court; telling me, pointing to Mr. Campbell, that he was acquainted with him, and had heard of me through him.

In December, a meeting of the native cotton-traders, chiefs, Native estimate and others, was held at the residence of the great chief Oguof civilized, educated men. bonna concerning the price of cotton. On the meeting assembling, and finding that we were not present, the chief at once despatched a messenger, requesting our immediate attendance, as "we knew how things ought to by done." On going down, we found a large assemblage waiting, among whom were Messrs. Samuel and Josiah Crowther, H. Robbing, J. C. During, F. Rebeiro, and C. W. Faulkner, civilized native gentlemen; also Mr. J. G. Hughes, an English gentleman. By a motion from myself, seconded by J. Crowther, the chief Ogubonna was chosen chairman, and, upon a motion by Mr. Campbell, seconded by J. G. Hughes, Mr. Robbing was chosen vice-chairman. The meeting went off well, we making many suggestions during the proceedings, which were always received with approbation.

The following from the native minister, being his own writing and com-

position, will explain itself:

"ABBEORUTA, Igbore, 23rd Dec., 1857.

"M. R. DELANY, Esq.:

"Dear Sir—A meeting of the Wesleyan Missionary Society will be held at the Wesleyan Chapel, on Monday next, the 26th instant, at ten o'clock, A.M., precisely. You are sincerely and respectfully solicited to be the Chairman on the occasion.

"The object of the Meeting is to offer Thanksgiving to Almighty God for the past years success; and to pray for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit's influence upon

the Church, for a further success, &c.

"Collection will be made at the close of the above.

"Yours respectfully and affectionately, "EDWD. BICKERSTETH,

" Wesleyan Minister."

"P.S. An early answer will be much obliged."

I replied in the affirmative to this kind invitation (the copy of reply is now mislaid), when, at the appointed time, a crowded house was assembled.

In a simple and comprehensive address made to them being interpreted by the minister as I proceeded), such was the effect that it not only produced their unanimous applause, but aroused Mr. During (a native civilized merchant, who had never before spoken in public) to his feet, who approved of what I had said, with such an appeal of native eloquence, that when he ceased, sixty bags of cowries (£54, or \$270, estimating them at 18s. or \$4,50 a bag, the then current value of cowries) were paid down on the spot, to aid the spread of civilazation through the gospel and education. Many, very many were the thanks given me that day by these, my native kinsmen and women. Several other gentlemen, among them Surgeon Samuel Crowther, the Pastor, Mr. Rebeiro, and Mr. Campbell my colleague, also addressed them.

official transactions.

Many had been the social, friendly, and official interchanges between us and the king and chiefs during our stay in Abbeokuta, when, on the twenty-seventh, the day after the missionary meeting, the following document was duly executed, with the express understanding that no heterogeneous nor promiscuous "masses" or companies, but select and intelligent people of high moral as well

as religious character were to be induced to go out. And I am sure that every good and upright person in that region, whether native or foreign missionary, would exceedingly regret to see a reckless set of religionspurning, God-defying persons sent there—especially by disinterested white societies in America, which interferingly came forward in a measure which was originated solely by ourselves (and that, too, but a few of us), as our only hope for the regeneration of our race from the curse and corrupting influences of our white American oppressors.

TREATY.

This Treaty, made between His Majesty, OKUKENU, Alake; SOMOYE, Ibashorun; SOKENU, OGUBONNA. and ATAMBALA. Chiefs and Balaguns, of Abbeokuta. on the first part; and MARTIN ROBISON DELANY, and ROBERT CAMPBELL. of the Niger Valley Exploring Party, Commissioners from the African race, of the United States and the Canadas in America, on the second part, covenants:

- ART. 1. That the King and Chiefs on their part, agree to grant and assign unto the said Commissioners, on behalf of the African race in America, the right and privilege of settling in common with the Egba people, on any part of the territory belonging to Abbeokuta, not otherwise occupied.
- ART. 2. That all matters requiring legal investigation among the settlers, be left to themselves, to be disposed of according to their own custom.
- ART. 3. That the Commissioners, on their part, also agree that the settlers shall bring with them, as an equivalent for the privileges above accorded. Intelligence. Education, a Knowledge of the Arts and Sciences, Agriculture, and other Mechanical and Industrial Occupations, which they shall put into immediate operation, by improving the lands, and in other useful yocations.
- ART. 4. That the laws of the Egba people shall be strictly respected by the settlers; and, in all matters in which both parties are concerned, an equal number of commissioners, mutually agreed upon, shall be appointed, who shall have power to settle such matters.

As a pledge of our faith, and the sincerity of our hearts, we each of us hereunto affix our hand and seal this Twenty-seventh day of December, ANNO DOMINI, One

Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty-nine.

+ OKUKENU, Alake. His Mark, His Mark. SOMOYE, Ibashorum. SOKENU, Balagun. His Mark, OGUBONNA, Balagun. His Mark, + His Mark, ATAMBALA, Balagun. His Mark, OGUSEYE, Anaba. NGTABO. Balagun, O. S. O. His Mark, OGUDEMU, Ageoko. His Mark, M. R. DELANY.

ROBERT CAMPBELL.

Witness—Samuel Crowther, Jun. Attest—Samuel Crowther, Sen.

On the next evening, the 29th, the king, with the executive council of chiefs and elders, met at the palace in Ake, Council, and when the treaty was ratified by an unanimous approval. Such general satisfaction ran through the council, that the great chief, his highness Ogubonna, mounting his horse, then at midnight, hastened to the residence of the Surgeon Crowther, aroused his father the missionary and author, and hastily informed him of the action of the council.

Native confideace : Hopes in educated blacks; Princess Tinuba.

On our return from the interior, having previously made the acquaintance of, and had several interviews with, and visits to and from the Princess Tinuba, being called upon by her. I informed her that during our tour I learned that she had supplied the chief of Ijaye with the means and implements for carrying on the war, which that chief was then waging against

Ovo and Ibaddan.

I had previous to that, obtained her fullest confidence as an adviser, a person of integrity, a friend of my race and of Africa. She had previously expressed to a friend of mine, that she had more hope of a regeneration of Africa through me than ever before. She had promised to place the entire management of her extensive business in my hands, as much advantage was taken of her by foreigners. She has attached to her immediate household about sixty persons, and keeps constantly employed about three hundred and sixty persons bringing her in palm-oil and ivory. She had come with a private retinue of six or seven persons, her secretary, a man and several maid-servants, to counsel and give me a written statement of what she desired me to do Having conversed for some time, after receiving my admonition concerning the part which I had learned she had taken with Arie of Ijaye, she sat some time after, positively negativing the accusation, when, bidding me farewell, and saying that she would "send me a letter," retired. In the course of the afternoon, her secretary, "Charles B Jones," a native, came to the house, and presenting his mistress's compliments, with her final adieu, handed me a written paper, from which I take the following extracts, simply to show the general feeling and frankness of these people, as well as the hopes and confidence they have in our going there:

"DR. MARTIN R. DELANY: Abbeokuta, April 3rd, 1860. "SIR-This is to certify you. that it is with a willing mind I come to you for help; and I trust you will do according to your promise. * * I return you my sincere gratitude for your kind information gave me while at your house, and can assure you that all what you heard is false respecting my sending guns and powder to Arie, the Chief of Ijaye. * * * I beg to say, you must not forget to find the Clerk who will stop at Lagos to ship my cargo, * * * and make agreement with him before vou send him here. * * * I need not say much more about the affairs, as you yourself have known my statements. With hopes that you are well, I am, dear

Your humble servant,
"TINUBA. "P.S. You must not forget to send the two guage-rods. Yours, &c.,-Tinuba."

"Per Charles B. Jones."

I have preferred to give these extracts just as they were written, without correcting the composition in any way.

The liberality which is here accorded to the people of Ab-Royal deferbeokuta may be also accorded to most other places. The king of Illorin sat in his court exposed to our view, because, he said, we were "his people;" a privilege which he never allowed "a strange white man," who was never permitted to look upon his royal black face publicly. He also sent with us an escort of a horseman and five footmen, with sword and spear, as a guard of honor, sending us cowries to pay the expenses. The king of Oyo paid us distinguished honors through

his great Arie Kufu, calling me a relative, and sending the chief to inquire after our health. On my leaving Oyo finally, he sent with me a very large escort, at the head of whom was his commander-in-chief Kufu, as a guard of honor, and three native gentlemen, high in rank, as my special carriers. These gentlemen complained to the missioners, Mr. and Mr. Hinderer at Ibaddan, that I was quite mistaken as to their true social position at home. To this I plead guilty, as they were quite right.

Chickens (and eggs plentifully) the sweetest and tenderest, ducks and turkeys; also Guinea fowls, as well as the fine Chickens,

Muscovy, are abundant.

The swine consist of two distinct classes; the common, descended from the wild-a long, lean, gaunt, long-eared, mon, Guinea. long-nosed, sharp-featured, hungry-looking brute, like the American hog: and the Guinea, a short-legged, heavy-bodied, short-nosed, short-eared fat-jawed, full-headed, jolly-looking animal, closely resembling the Berk-

shire of English breeding.

The goats are the most beautiful, shiny, plump, active, saucy creatures, the mutton being most excellent flesh; and the sheep, though hairy instead of woolly, in every other particular are like other sheep, and the mutton frequently equaling English mutton in flavor and sweetness. I suspect the common sheep of this country to be of another genus, as there are some very fine woolly sheep in the interior. We intend testing the woolly sheep when we get settled there.

The cattle are of two classes, and merit particular attention. The windward or Mandingo, a tall, long-horned, beau-dingo and tiful animal, the type of the Herefordshire; and the leeward or Golah, a short-legged, short-horned, heavy-bodied, broad-backed ox,

the exact conformation of the splendid English Durham beeves. The horses are of two distinct classes, and not only merit

much attention here, but must be regarded as among the most surprising evidences (as well as the cattle and improved breed of swine) of the high degree of intelligence and heathen civiliza-

tion attained by the people.

The Aku or Yoruba, is a small, well-built, generally sprightly animal, equal in size to the largest American-Indian Aku, or Yoruba horse. They are great travelers, and very enduring, and when

broke to the shafts or traces will be excellent in harness as family hackneys.

The Bornou, a noble horse, from twelve to seventeen hands high, finely proportioned and symmetrically beautiful, Soudan horse. and the type of the description of the sire of the great first

English blood horse, Godolphin, is exceedingly high-spirited, and fleet in the race or chase. These noble animals abound in all this part of Africa; are bred in Bornou, where great attention is paid to the rearing of them. from whence they are taken by the Ishmaelitish traders, in exchange for their commodities, to Arabia; from thence they are sent to Europe as their own production; just as, a few years since, and probably up to the present day, mules were reared in great numbers in Mexico, purchased by Ohio and Kentucky muleteers, who sold them in the eastern and northern States of America, where for years the people supposed and really

believed that they were bred in the western States, from whence they were purported to come. The fine Bornou, known as the Arabian horse. is a native of Africa, and raised in great numbers. Denham and Clap perton, as long ago as thirty-five or forty years, wrote, after visiting that part of Africa, "It is said that Bornou can muster fifteen thousand Sho nass in the field mounted. They are the greatest breeders of cattle in the country, and annually supply Soudan with from two to three thousand horses." These animals are used for riding, and well exercised, as the smallest boys are great riders, every day dashing at fearful speed along the roads and over the plains.

Game is also very plentiful. Deer, antelopes, wild hogs Game; quad- hedge hogs, porcupines, armadillos, squirrels, hares and rab bits, raccoons and opossoms, are among the most common

quadruped game.

Wild turkeys, wild ducks of various kinds, wild pigeons Wild Fowl. ocpara (a very fine quail, much larger, fatter and plumper than the American pheasant), and the wild Guinea fowl, are among the

most common biped game.

The markets are also worthy of note, and by their regular Markets, and establishment and arrangement indicate to a certain exten-Domestic Habits of the the self-governing element and organized condition of the people. Every town has its regular market-place or general bazaar, and everything to be had in the town may be found, in more o less quantities, in these market-places. In describing the large citiethrough which Mr. Campbell, my colleague, and I passed, and those through which I passed alone (none of which were under seventy thousand of a population), there were numerous smaller places of various sizes, from very small villages of one hundred to two thousand inhabitants, which were not mentioned in the enumerated towns. Of these market-places is may mention that Illorin has five, the area of the largest comprising about ten acres, and the general market of Abbeokuta comprising more than twelve altogether, whilst that of Jiave contains fully twenty acres of more, in which, like the markets generally, everything may be obtained These markets are systematically regulated and orderly arranged, there being parts and places for everything, and "everything in their places." with officially appointed and excellent managing market-masters. The cattle department of the Abbeokuta and Ijaye markets, as well as Illoria are particularly attractive, there being as many as eight hundred sheep a one time in either of the two former, and horses and mules, as well as sheep and goats exhibited in the latter. When approaching the city of Ibaddan, I saw at a brook, where they had been let out of their cares of coops to drink and wash themselves, as many as three thousand pigeonand squabs going to the Ibaddan market.

The following description of the Illorin market, extracted from "Bow en's Central Africa," is truthful as far as it goes, and will give a genera

idea of markets in the great cities of Africa:

"The most attractive object next to the curious old town itself-and it is alway old—is the market. * * * Here the wom n sit and chat all day, from early morn till nine o'clock at night, to sell the r various merchand'se. Some of the sheds however, are occupied by barbers, who shave people's heads and faces; and by leather dressers, who make charms like Jewish phylacteries, and bridle reins, shoes, sandals, &c.; and by dozens and scores of men, who carn an honest living by dressing calabashes, and ornamenting them with various neat engravings. cipal market hour, and proper time to see all the wonders, is in the evening.* As the shades of evening deepen, if the weather allow the market to continue and there is no moon, every woman lights her little lamp, and presently the market presents, to the distant observer, the beautiful appearance of innumera-

"The commodities sold in market are too tedious to mention, even if all could be remembered. Besides home productions, there are frequently imported articles from the four quarters of the globe. Various kinds of meat, fowls, sheep, goats, dogs, rats, tortoises, eggs, fish, snails, vams, Indian corn, Guinea corn, sweet potatoes, sugar-cane, ground peas, onions, popper, various vegetables, palm-nuts, oil, tree-butter, seeds, fruits, firewood, cotton in the seeds, spun cotton, domestic cloth, imported cloth, as calico, shirting, velvets, &c., gunpowder, guns, flints, knives, swords, paper, raw silk. Turkey-red thread, needles, ready-made clothing, as trowsers, caps, breeches, shirts without sleeves, baskets, brooms, and no one knows what all."

This description was given by Mr. Bowen in his (in many respects) admirable work, published in 1857, after a missionary residence and tour of seven years, from 1850 to the time of writing, among the people of whom he wrote.

The houses are built of unburnt clay which hardens in the sun, covered with a beautiful thatch—long, peculiar grass exhibiting only the walls to the streets, the doors all opening inside of these walls, which are entered by a gate or large doorway: the streets generally irregular and narrow, but frequently agreeably relieved by wider ones, or large, open spaces or parks shaded with trees; all presenting a scene so romantic and antiquated in appearance, that you cannot resist the association with Babylon, Nineveh, Tyre, and Thebais. buildings are heavy and substantial for their kind, many of which are very extensive. These towns and cities are all entrenched and walled: extending entirely around them; that of Abbeokuta with the new addition being twenty-seven miles, though the population is less by forty thou-

Great affection exists between husband and wife, the women being mostly restricted to household work, trading, and filial affection, gathering in the fields, and aiding in carrying, whilst the men principally do the digging, planting, chopping, and other hard

sand than Ibaddan, which embraces about twenty-three miles.

work. The children are also passionately beloved by their parents, sometimes with too much indulgence. They are very active, and every day some of them of all sizes may be seen dashing along a road or over a plain at fearful speed on horseback. They are great vaulters and ankle-springers, and boys may frequently be seen to spring from the ground whirling twice—turning two summersets—before lighting on their feet.

It may not be out of place here to add, that the population of the capital of Liberia is certainly not above three thou- Monrovia and sand, though they claim for it five thousand. And what has the State. been said of the lack and seeming paucity of public improvement may be much extenuated when it is considered that the entire population of settlers only number at present some 15,000 souls; the native population being 250,00%, or 300,000, as now incorporated.

^{*} Lagos is an exception to this, the market commencing early in the day, and closing at night.

Canino and Feline.

As the enquiry has been frequently made of me as to "whether there are really dogs and cats in Africa," and if so, "whether they are like other dogs and cats;" and since a very intelligent American clergyman said to me that he had read it somewhere as a fact in natural history, that dogs in Africa could not bark; I simply here inform the curious enquirer, that there are dogs and cats plentifully in Africa, which "look like other dogs and cats," and assure them that the dogs bark, eat, and bite, just like "other dogs."

A word about slavery. It is simply preposterous to talk about slavery, as that term is understood, either being legalized or existing in this part of Africa. It is nonsense. The system is a patriarchal one, there being no actual difference, socially, between the slave (called by their protector son or daughter) and the children of the person with whom they live. Such persons intermarry, and frequently become the heads of state; indeed, generally so, as I do not remember at present a king or chief with whom I became acquainted whose entire members of the household, from the lowest domestic to the highest official, did not sustain this relation to him, they calling him baba or "father." and he treating them as children. And where this is not the case, it either arises from some innovation among them or those exceptional cases of despotism to be found in every country. Indeed, the term "slave" is unknown to them, only as it has been introduced among them by whites from Europe and America. So far from abject slavery, not even the old feudal system, as known to exist until comparatively recent in enlightened and Christian Europe, exists in this part of Africa.

Criminals and prisoners of war are legally sold into slavery among themrelves, just as was the custom in almost every civilized country in the world till very lately, when nothing but advanced intelligence and progressive Christianity among the people put a stop to it. There is no place, however, but Illorin, a bona fide Mohammedan kingdom, where we ever

witnessed any exhibition of these facts.

Slaves are abducted by marauding, kidnapping, depraved natives, who, like the organized bands and gangs of robbers in Europe and America, go through the country thieving and stealing helpless women and children, and men who may be overpowered by numbers. Whole villages in this way sometimes fall victims to these human monsters, especially when the strong young men are out in the fields at work, the old of both sexes in such cases being put to death, whilst the young are hurried through some private way down to the slave factories usually kept by Europeans (generally Portuguese and Spaniards) and Americans, on some secluded part of the coast. And in no instances are the parents and relatives known to sell their own children or people into slavery, except, indeed, in cases of base depravity, and except such miserable despots as the kings of Dahomi and Ashantee; neither are the heads of countries known to sell their own people; but like the marauding kidnapper, obtain them by war on others.

SECTION IX.

DISEASES OF THIS PART OF AFRICA, TREATMENT, HYGEINE, ALIMENT.

THE diseases in this part of Africa are still more simple Diseases. than those of Liberia; and even the native fever, for known causes, generally is much less severe. In Liberia, and all that part of Africa, the entire country (except the cleared farms in the republic and the limited rice-fields of the natives) is a dense, heavy-wooded, primitive forest, rank with the growth and putrified vegeta- Face of country. tion of a thousand ages. But the entire Aku country, throughout the second plateau, presents a very different phase. Here, one is struck with the beautiful clear country which continually spreads out in every direction around; and (except the thickets or forests left as defences, ambuscades, and arbors of rest, rugged hilltops, and gullies), there is nothing but recent timber to be found growing on the lands. Timber in Africa is reproduced very speedily; hence may be found in some parts designedly left very heavy timber; but the greatest unbroken forest through which we passed at any one time, of this description, never exceeded, I think, ten miles. All the spring (shallow wells generally) and other living water, as perennial streams, is both good-tasted, and if the constant use of running stream water be a fair test, I would decide as wholesome. There are some good springs in Africa, and good water doubtless may everywhere be obtained by digging suitable wells.

Drinking water in the tropics should always be kept in Tokeep water large vessels of crockery ware (usually termed "stone" and cool. Kind of "earthen ware") and smaller bottle or decanter-shaped jugs vessels. or vessels for table convenience. If earthen or crockery ware cannot be obtained for table use, by all means use glass bottles—the more globular, or balloon-shaped, the better.

To make and keep water cool in any crockery or glass vessel, wrap around it a cloth of any kind, but especially woolen—flannel or blanket being the best—which keep simply wet, and the water in the vessel, by evaporation from the cloth, can be made or kept

almost ice cool.

A most simple method by which the cloth may be kept To keep the cloth wet, and evaporation thereby kept up, is to have a large vesal, with the water in for common use, so placed that a small vessel with water can be suspended over it in such a manner that a drip can be kept constantly on the cloth. The cloth being first saturated, it will readily be seen that a very small drip is required to keep up the dampness. The drip may be arranged, where convenient, with a small faucet so as to regulate the drop, or the more primitive method of a little spiggot or sharpened stick put into a hole made in the vessel, so regulated as to keep up a sufficient dripping to keep the cloth of sufficient dampness. Simple as this may appear to the reader, it is an important sanitary measure, besides adding greatly to the immediate comfort of the traveler or resident in those regions.

Atmosphere. The atmosphere in this region of the continent is much purer than that of Liberia and the region round about; and, although incorporated with odors, these are pleasant and seem familiar to the sense, and not obnoxious with the rich rank fragrance so sensibly experienced in that country. There is little, comparatively, of the decayed vegetation, which sends up malaria from the surface in Liberia; and the immense fields and plains of grass not under cultivation at the time, are burnt down during the dry season, thereby bringing to bear, though probably unawares to them, a sanitary process throughout that extensive country at least once every year.

Intermittent fever, as described in section VI., page 27, on Liberia, though generally of a mild type, diarrhæa, dysentery (neither of which is difficult to subdue by a little rational treatment), opthalmia, and umbilical hernia, and sometimes, but not frequently, inguinal hernia, are the principal diseases. The opthalmia I suspected as originating from taint, probably having been primarily carried from the coast, as it was not so frequently met with as to warrant the idea of its being either a contagion or the effects of poisonous sands or winds, as supposed to exist. The hernia is caused by the absence of proper umbilical attention and abdominal support to the child after parturition. Umbilical hernia is fearfully common all through Africa, I having frequently seen persons, especially females, with the hernial tumor as large as their own head, and those of little children fully as large as the head of an infant a month old.

A singular disease affects some persons, though I have never seen this upon a native, and believe it to be peculiar to the region round about Liberia. The person whose case I examined had formerly resided in Liberia, where, doubtless, the disease commenced, but for the last three years previously had resided at Ijaye, in the capacity of cook, for the American Baptist Missionaries, Revs. A. D. Phillips and J. R. Stone and lady, and then resided at Abbeokuta. This is a peculiar ulceration of the leg, immediately above the ankle-bone, where they say it usually commences; the edges of the ulcer, and the cuticle quite up to the edge, and all the surrounding parts, having a healthy appearance, as though a portion of the flesh had been recently torn out, leaving the cavity as it then was. The most peculiar feature of this singular disease is a white fiber, which, coming out from the integuments of the muscles of the leg above, hangs suspended in the cavity (ulcer) the lower end loose, and somewhat inclined to coil (and when straightened out, resuming again the serpentine curves, of course from the elasticity with motion), is supposed to be a worm; hence its name—Guinea worm. The fibre seems in color and texture to be in a normal condition; indeed, there appear to be little or no pathological symptoms about the parts at all, except a slight appearance of vermilli in inflammation over the surface of the ulcer which is more apparent sometimes than others.

whatis Guinea worm?

I have examined closely this fibre, and from its appearance, color, size, and texture, especially as it is sensibly felt high up in the leg near the tuberosity of the third when pulled by the dangling end, my own impression is that the sealled "Guinea worm" is nothing more than the external saphenus or communist

tibiæ (nerve) exposed in a peculiar manner, probably by a disease, which, by a curious pathological process, absorbs away the muscular parts, leaving the bare nerve detached at its lower extremity, suspended loose in this unnatural space. I have never seen but this one case of Guinea worm, but had frequent opportunities of examining it; indeed, the patient consulted me concerning it, and by the advice and consent of the very clever native gentleman, Samuel Crowther, Esq., who received his professional education at the Royal Cellege of Surgeons, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, insisted on my taking the case, which I declined, partty for the want of time to do justice to the patient, and aside from courtesy and equity to the surgeon who had the case in hand, mainly because I knew nothing about it—the best reason of all. The patient was an American quadroon, black nearly in complexion, of one-fourth white blood, from North Carolina. This, of course was a black quadroon.

I should add, that the fiber at times entirely disappears from the cavity (by contraction, of course), when again it is seen suspended as before. This is one reason why it is believed to be a worm, and supposed to creep

up and down in the flesh.

The treatment of fever in this part of Africa should be the same as that in Liberia, given on page 28. The best remedy which I have found for diarrhea is:

R. Pulv. Rad. Rhei. 3j.; Syr. Simp. f. 3jv:; Spts. Terebinth.

f. zj.; Tinct. Opii., gtt. x. M. ft.

Pulverized rhubarb, one drachm, (or one-eighth of an ounce); simple syrup, four ounces (or eight large tablespoonfuls); laudanum, ten drops; spirits of turpentine, one spoonful. Mix this well together to take.

For dysentery the recipe is:

Dysentery.

R. Pulv. Rad. Rhei. Pulv. G. Gatech. a. a., ij.; Syr. Simp. f. 3v.; Spts. Terebinth. Spts. Ammon. Arromat., a. a. f. ij; Tinct. Opii.

gtt. x.. M. ft.

Polverized rhubarb and pulverized gum catechu, each, one-eighth of an ounce; simple syrup, eight large tablespoonfuls; spirits of turpentine and aromatic spirits of ammonia, of each one teaspoonful; laudanum, ten drops. Mix this well together to take. Of this take one teaspoonful (if very bad, a desert spoonful) every three hours, or four times a day (always beginning at least one hour before breakfast), till the symptoms cease.

During the presence of febrile symptoms, in the absence of all diarrhœa and dysenteric symptoms, even when the person is not complaining, an excellent simple antidote to be taken

at discretion, not oftener than once every hour during the day, is:

R. Syr. Simp., 3jv.; Spts. Ammon. Arromat. 3jss. M. ft. Simple syrup, eight large tablespoonfuls; aromatic spirits of ammonia, one and a half teaspoonfuls. Mix this well together. Take a teaspoonful of this preparation in a little cold water, or a glass of lemonade if preferred, and the condition of the bowels will admit, as often as thought advisable under the circumstances.

I have thus thought proper to simplify this treatment, that it may be in the reach of every person going to the tropics, as I am certain that there has been a great deficiency in the treatment and discovery of remedies in diseases of that continent especially. These prescriptions, as com-

pounded, are entirely new, originating with the writer, who has only to add that he is in hopes that they may prove as advantageous and success-

ful in other hands as they have been in his.

Persons laboring under fever should eat moderately of such food as best agrees with their appetite; but frequently, if required or desired, that the system may be well supported. When there is diarrhæa or dysentery present, there should be no solid food taken, but the patient or ailing person should be confined strictly to a thin milk porridge of fine Guinea-corn flour, which is always obtainable in Africa, crumbled crackers or soda biscuits, light (leavened) wheat bread if to be had, or well-done rice boiled to a pulp. The soda-biscuit as a porridge with milk rather aggravates the bowels of most persons; therefore, whenever it is found to have this effect, its use should be immediately abandoned. In many instances, where there is either dirrrhæa or dysentery present, without other prominent symptoms, I have found the mere use of cooked milk (merely "scalded," as women usually term it—being heated to the boiling point without permitting it to boil), taken as food alone, to be the only remedy required.

The laws of health should be particularly observed in going to Africa. In respect to eating, there need be no material change of food, but each individual observing those nourishments which best agree with him or her. When there is little inclination to eat, eat but little; and when there is none, eat nothing. I am certain that a large percentage of the mortality which occurs may be attributed to too free and too frequent indulgence in eating, as was the case with the Lewis family of five at Clay-Ashland, in Liberia—all of whom died

from that cause; as well as others that might be mentioned.

So soon as you have taken your bath and put on your morning wrapper, even before dressing, you may eat one or more sweet oranges, then take a cup of coffee, creamed and sweetened, or not, to your taste. Make your toilet, and walk out and take the cool air, always taking your umbrella or parasol, because no foreigner, until by a long residence more or less acclimated, can expose himself with impunity to a tropical sun. If preferred, coffee should always be taken with cream or milk and sugar, because it is then less irritating to the stomach. One of the symptoms of native fever is said to be nervous irritability of the stomach; hence, all exciting causes to irritation of that part should be avoided as much as possible. Such fruits as best agree with each individual should be most indulged in; indeed, all others for the time should be dispensed with; and when it can be done without any apparent risk to the person, a little fruit of some kind might be taken every day by each new comer. Except oranges, taken as directed above, all fruits should be eaten after, and not before breakfast. The fruits of the country have been described in another place.

Drinks. Let your habits be strictly temperate, and for human nature's sake, abstain from the erroneous idea that some sort of malt or spirituous drink is necessary. This is not the case; and I am certain that much of the disease and dire mortality charged against Africa, as a "land of pestilence and death," should be charged against the Christian lands which produce and send bad spirits to destroy those who go

to Africa. Whenever wine, brandy, whisky, gir, rum, or pure alcohol are required as a medical remedy, no one will object to its use; but, in all cases in which they are used as a beverage in Africa, I have no hesitation in pronouncing them deleterious to the system. The best British porter and ale may, in convalescence from fever, be used to advantage as a tonic. because of the bitter and farinaceous substances they contain-not otherwise is it beneficial to the system in Africa. Water, lemonade, effervescent drinks—a teaspoonful of super carbonate of soda, to a glass of lemonade-all may be drunk in common, when thirsty, with pleasure to the drinker as well as profit. Pure ginger-beer is very beneficial.

Bathing should be strictly observed by every person at Bathing, least once every day. Each family should be provided with

a large sponge, or one for each room if not for each person, and free application of water to the entire person from head to foot, should be made

every morning.

Every person should rise early in Africa, as the air is then coolest, fres est, and purest; besides the effect upon the senses.

the sight and song of the numerous birds to be seen and heard, produce a healthful influence upon the mental and physical system. The land and sea-breezes blow regularly and constantly from half-past three o'clock P. M. till half-past ten o'clock A. M., when there is a cessation of about five

hours, till half-past three again.

The evenings and mornings are always cool and pleasant, Never sultry. never sultry and oppressive with beat, as frequently in temperate climates during summer and autumn. This wise and beneficent arrangement of Divine Providence makes this country beautifully, in fact, delightfully pleasant; and I have no doubt but in a very few years, so soon as scientific black men, her own sons, who alone must be more interested in her development than any other persons, take the matter in hand, and produce works upon the diseases, remedies, treatment, and sanitary measures of Africa, there will be no more contingency in going to Africa than any other known foreign country. I am certain, even now, that the native fever of Africa is not more trying upon the system, when properly treated, than the native fever of Canada, the Western and Southern States and Territories of the United States of America.

Dress should be regulated according to the feeling, with Dress. sometimes more and sometimes less clothing. But I think it advisable that adults should wear flannel (thin) next to their person always when first going to Africa. It gradually absorbs the moisture, and retaining a proper degree of heat, thus prevents any sudden change of temperature from affecting the system. Avoid getting wet at first, and should this accidentally happen, take a thoroughly good bath, rub the skin dry, and put on dry clothes, and for two or three hours that day, keep out of the sun; but if at night, go to bed. But when it so happens that you are out from home and cannot change clothing, continue to exercise until the clothes dry on your person. It is the abstraction of heat from the system by evaporation of water from the clothing, which does the mischief in such cases. I have frequently been wet to saturation in Africa, and nothing ever occurred from it, by pursuing the course here laid down. Always sleep in clean clothes.

Sanitary Measures.

I am sure I need inform no one, however ignorant, that all measures of cleanliness of person, places, and things about the residences, contribute largely to health in Africa, as in other countries.

All dwellings should be freely ventilated during the night, Ventilation of as well as day, and it is a great mistake to suppose, as in houses. Liberia (where every settler sleeps with every part of his house closely shut-doors, windows, and all) that it is deletereous to have the house ventilated during the evening, although they go out to night mecetings, visit each other in the evening, and frequently sit on their porches and piazzas till a late hour in the night, conversing, without any injurious effects whatever. Dr. Roberts, and I think Dr. McGill and a few other gentlemen, informed me that their sleeping apartments were exceptious to the custom generally in Liberia. This stifling custom to save themselves does not prevail among the natives of Africa anywhere, nor among the foreigners anywhere in the Yoruba country, that I am aware of, and I am under the impression that it was the result of fear or precaution, not against the night air, but against the imaginary (and sometimes real) creeping things—as insects and reptiles—which might find their way into the houses at night.

While in Liberia, I have traversed rivers in an open boat at night, slept beyond the Kavalla Falls in open native houses, and at the residence of Rev. Alexander Crummell, Mount Vaughan. Cape Palmas, I slept every evening while there with both window and door as ventilators. The window was out and the door inside. In Abbeokuta, Ijaye, Oyo, and Ogbomosho, we slept every night with ventilated doors and windows, when we slept at all in a house. But in Illorin we always slept out of doors by preference, and only retired to repose in-doors (which were always open) when it was too cool to sleep out, as our bedding consisted only of a native mat on the ground, and a calico sheet spread over us. And I should here make acknowledgments to my young colleague, Mr. Campbell, for the use of his large Scotch shawl when I was unwell, and indeed almost during our entire travel—it being to me a great accommodation, a comfort and convenience which I did not

Test of exposure. I have started two and three hours before daybreak, laying on my bed in an open canoe, ascending the Ogun river, at different times during the six days' journey up to Abbeokuta; Mr. Campbell and myself have frequently slept out in open courts and public market-places, without shed or piazza covering; and when journeying from Oyo to Ibaddan, for three successive evenings I lay in the midst of a wilderness or forest, on a single native mat without covering, the entire night; and many times during our travels we arose at midnight to commence our journey, and neither of ever experienced any serious inconvenience from it.

possess.

Improved window and door ventilated during the night without annoyance, or, what is equally as bad, if not worse, the continual fear and imagination of the approach of venomous insects, creeping things, and reptiles, the residents should adapt them to the place and circumstances, without

that rigid imitation of European and American order of building. Every house should be well ventilated with windows on opposite sides of the rooms, when and wherever this is practicable, and the same may be said of doors. And where the room will not admit of opposite windows, or windows at least on two sides of a room, whether opposite or otherwise, a chimney or ventilating flue should be constructed on the opposite side to the window—which window should always be to the windward, so as to have a continual draught or current of fresh air. Persons, however, should always avoid sitting in a draught, though a free circulation of air should

be allowed in each room of every house.

Instead of window-sashes with glass, as in common use, I would suggest that the windows have a sash of four, or but two (if preferred) panels, to each window (two upper and two lower, or one upper and one loweror one lower and two upper, which would make a neat and handsome window), each panel or space for panes being neatly constructed with a sieve-work, such as is now used as screens during summer season in the lower part of parlor windows. To prevent too great oxydization or too rapid decay of so delicate a structure as the wire must be, it should be made of brass, copper, or some composition which would not readily cor-Inside or outside doors of the same material, made to close and open like the Venetian jalousies now in use in civilized countries, would be found very convenient, and add much to the comfort and health of The frames of the panels or sashes dwellings as a sanitary measure. should be constructed of maple, cherry, walnut, or mahogany, according to the means of the builder and elegance of the building—as these articles seasoned are not only more neat and durable, but, from their solidity, are less liable to warp or shrink. This would afford such a beautiful and safe protection to every dwelling against the intrusion of all and every living thing, even the smallest insect-while a full and free circulation of fresh air would be allowed-that a residence in Africa would become attractive and desirable, instead of, as now (from imagination), objectionable. A word about ants in Africa-so much talked of, and so Sanitary effects

much dreaded—will legitimately be in place here, regarding ef Anta-Ter-miles, and Driving Providence miles, and Driving Provid them as a sanitary means, provided by Divine l'rovidence. The termites, bug-a-bug or white double ant, shaped like two ovals somewhat flattened, joined together by a cylinder somewhat smaller in the middle, with a head at one end of one of the ovals, is an herbivorous insect, and much abused as the reputed destroyers of books, papers, and all linen or muslin clothing. They feed mainly on such vegetable matter as is most subject to decay—as soft wood, and many other such, when void of vitality-and there is living herbage upon which they feed, and thereby prove a blessing to a country with a superabundance of rank vegetable matter. It is often asserted that they destroy whole buildings, yet I have never seen a person who knew of such a disaster by them, although they may attack and do as much mischief in such cases at times as the wood worms of America; and, in regard to clothing, though doubtless there have been instances of their attack upon and destruction of clothing, yet I will venture to assert that there is not one piece of clothing attacked and destroyed by these creatures, to ten thousand by the moths which get into the factories and houses in civilized

countries, where woolen goods are kept. In all my travels in Africa, I never had anything attacked by the termite; but during my stay of seven months in Great Britain, I had a suit of woolen clothes completely eaten

up by moths in Liverpool.

Drivers, as every person already knows, are black ants, whose reputation is as bad for attacking living animals, and even human beings, as the termites' for attacking clothing. This creature, like its white cousin, is also an instrument in the hands of Providence as a sanitary means, and to the reverse of the other is carnivorous, feeding upon all flesh whether fresh or putrified. Like the white, for the purpose of destroying the superabundance of vegotable, certainly these black ants were designed by Providence to destroy the excess of animal life which in the nature of things would be brought forth, with little or no destruction without them; and although much is said about their attacking persons, I will venture the opinion that there is not one of these attacks a person to every ten thousand musquitoes in America, as it is only by chance, and not by search after it, that drivers attack persons.

They usually go in search of food in narrow rows, say from half an inch to a hand's breadth, as swiftly as a running travel. stream of water, and may in their search enter a house in their course—if nothing attract them around it—when, in such cases, they spread over the floor, walls, and ceiling; and finding no insect or creening thing to destroy, they gather again on the floor, and leave the premises in the regular order in which they entered. Should they encounter a person when on these excursions, though in bed, does he but lie still and not disturb them, the good-hearted negro insects will even pass over the person without harm or molestation; but if disturbed, they will retaliate by a sting as readily as a bee when the hive is disturbed, though their sting, so far from being either dangerous or severe, is simply like the severe sting of a musquito. An aged missionary gentleman, of twentyfive years' experience, informed me that an entire myriad (this term is given to a multitude of drivers, as their number can never be less than ten thousand—and I am sure that I have seen as many millions together) passed over him one night in bed, without one stinging him. Indeed, both the black and white ants are quite harmless as to personal injury, and very beneficial in a sanitary point.

There is much more in the imagination than the reality them out of the about these things; and one important fact I must not omit, that, however great the number of drivers, a simple light set in the middle of the floor will clear the room of them in ten minutes. In this case they do not form in column, but go out in hasty confusion, each effecting as quick retreat and safe escape for himself as possible, forming their line of march outside of the house, where they meet from all quar-

ters of their points of escape.

Chloride of sodium or common salt (fine), slightly damped, Desiroy them. will entirely destroy the termites; and acctum or vinegar, or acctic acid either, will destroy or chase off the drivers. These means are simple, and within the reach of every person, but, aside from this, both classes or races of these creatures disappear before the approach of civilization. In a word, moths, mice, roaches, and musquitoes are much greater

domestic annoyances, and certainly much more destructive in America

and Europe than the bug-a-bug or termite is in Africa.

I cannot endorse the statement from personal knowledge of the desperate hostility which the drivers manifest towards the termites, as given by Dr. Livingstone, who, calling them "black rascals," says "they stand deliberately and watch for the whites, which, on coming out of their holes, they instantly seize, putting them to death." Perhaps the whites were kidnappers, in which case they served the white rascals right. Though I have never seen an encounter, it is nevertheless true, that the blacks do subdue the whites whenever they meet. In fact, they go, as do no other creatures known to natural science, in immense incalculable numbers—and I do not think that I exaggerate if I say that I have more than once seen more than six hogsheads of them travelling together, had they been measured—and along the entire line of march, stationed on each side of the columns, there are warriors or soldiers to guard them, who stand sentry, closely packed side by side with their heads towards the column, which passes on as rapidly as a flowing stream of water. I have traced a column for more than a mile, whose greatest breadth was more than a vard, and the least not less than a foot. It is inconceivable the distance these creatures travel in a short time. Should anything disturb the lines, the soldiers sally out a few feet in pursuit of the cause, quickly returning to their post when meeting no foe. The guards are much larger than the common drivers, being about the length of a barley-corn, and armed with

One important fact, never referred to by travellers as such, is that the health of large towns in Africa will certainly be improved by the erection of cesspools, whereas now they have none. With the exception of the residences of missionaries and other civilized people, there is no such thing in Africa. Every family, as in civilized countries, should have such conveniences. Our senses are great and good faculties—seeing, hearing, tasting, smelling, and feeling—God has so created them, and designed them for such purposes; therefore, they should neither be perverted nor marred when this can be avoided. Hence, we should beautify, when required, and make pleasing to the sight; modify and make pleasant to the hearing; cleanse and purify to make agreeable to the smelling; improve and make good to the taste; and never violate the feelings whenever any or all of these are at our will or

a pair of curved horns, like those of the large American black beetle,

called "pinching bug." There are no bed-bugs here.

control

A single remark about these. The wild beasts are driven back before the march of civilization, I having seen none, save one leopard; and but four serpents during my entire travels, and Repulles one three and a half feet long (a water snake); one fourteen inches long; and another ten inches long; the two last being killed by natives—and a tame one around the neck of a charmer at Oyo. During the time I never saw a centipede, and but two tarantulas.

SECTION X.

MISSIONARY INFLUENCE.

To deny or overlook the fact, the all-important fact, that the missionary influence had done much good in Africa, would be simply to do injustice,

a gross injustice to a good cause.

Protestant Missionaries. The advent of the Protestant Missionaries into Africa, has doubtless been effective of much good, though it may reasonably be expected that many have had their short comings. By Protestant, I mean all other Christian denominations than the Roman Catholic. I would not be regarded either a bigot or partialist so far as the rights of humanity are concerned, but facts are tenable in all cases, and whilst I readily admit that a Protestant monarch granted the first letterspatent to steal Africans from their homes to be enslaved by a Protestant people, and subsequently a bona-fide Protestant nation has been among the most cruel oppressors of the African race, my numerous friends among whom are many Roman Catholics—black as well as white—must bear the test of truth, as I shall apply it in the case of the Missionaries, as my object in visiting my father-land, was to enquire into and learn every fact, which should have a bearing on this, the grandest prospect for the regeneration of a people, that ever was presented in the history of the world.

In my entire travels in Africa, either alone or after Catholic Religion in meeting with Mr. Campbell at Abbeokuta, I have neither seen nor heard of any Roman Catholic Missionaries; but the most surprising and startling fact is, that every slave-trading point on the coast at present (which ports are mainly situated South and East) where the traffic is carried on, are either Roman Catholic trading-ports, or native agencies protected by Roman Catholics; as Canot, formerly at Grand Cape Mount, Pedro Blanco, and Domingo at Wydah in Dahomi. And still more, it is a remarkable and very suggestive reality that at all of those places where the Jesuits or Roman Catholic Missionaries once were stationed, the slave-trade is not only still carried on in its worst form as far as practicable, but slaves are held in Africa by these white foreigners at the old Portuguese settlements along the Southern and Eastern coasts, of Loango and Mozambique for instance; and although some three years have elapsed since the King of Portugal proclaimed, or pretended to proclaim "Liberty to all the people throughout his dominions," yet I will venture an opinion, that not one in every hundred of native Africans thus held in bondage on their own soil, are aware of any such "Proclamation." Dr. Livingstone tells us that he came across many ruins of Roman Catholic Missionary Stations in his travels-especially those in Loando de St. Paul, a city of some eighteen or twenty thousand of a population-all deserted, and the buildings appropriated to other uses, as storehouses, and the like. Does not this seem as though slavery were the legitimate successor of Roman Catholicism, or slave-traders and holders of the Roman Catholic religion and Missionaries? It certainly has that appearance to me; and a fact still more glaring is, that the only professing Christian government which in the light of the present period of human elevation and national reform, has attempted such a thing, is that of Roman Catholic Spain, (still persisting in holding Cuba for the wealth accruing from African Slaves stolen from their native land) which recently expelled every Protestant Missionary from the African Island of Fernando Po, that they might command it unmolested by Christian influence, as an export mart for the African Slave-Trade. To these facts I call the attention of the Christian world, that no one may murmur when the day of retribution in Africa comes—which come it must—and is fast hastening, when slave-traders must flee.

Wherever the Protestant Missionaries are found, or have Influence of Probeen, there are visible evidences of a purer and higher civilite testant Religion zation, by the high estimate set upon the Christian religion by again-t Slavery, and in favor of the natives, the deference paid to the missionaries themselves, civilization, and the idea which generally obtains among them, that all missionaries are opposed to slavery, and the faith they have in the moral integrity of these militant ambassadors of the Living God. Wherever there are missionaries, there are schools both Sabbath and secular, and the arts and sciences, and manners and customs, more or less of civilized life, are imparted. I have not as yet visited a missionary station in any part of Africa, where there were not some, and frequently many natives, both adult and children, who could speak, read, and write English, as well as read their own language; as all of them, whether Episcopalian, Wesleyan, Baptist, or Presbyterian, in the Yoruba country, have Crowther's editions of religious and secular books in the schools and churches, and all have native agents, interpreters, teachers (assistants) and catechists or readers in the mission. These facts prove indisputably great progress; and I here take much pleasure in recording them in testimony of those faithful laborers in that distant vineyard of our heavenly Father in my fatherland. Both male and female missionaries, all seemed much devoted to their work, and anxiously desirous of doing more. Indeed, the very fact of there being as many native missionaries as there are now to be found holding responsible positions, as elders, deacons, preachers, and priests, among whom there are many finely educated, and several of them authors of

I am indebted to the Missionaries generally, wherever met with, whether in Liberia or Central Africa, for their son dacknowledguniform kindness and hospitality, among whom may be named: Rev. J. M. Harden and excellent wife, (a refined highly educated

sionary duty can carry them.

works, not only in their own but the English language, as Revs Crowther, King, Taylor, and Samuel Crowther, Esq., surgeon, all show that there is an advancement for these people beyond the point to which mis-

named: Rev. J. M. Harden and excellent wife, (a refined highly educated native Ibo lady at Lagos,) Revs. H. Townsend, C. H. Gollmer, J. King, E. Bickersteth and ladies in Abbeokuta; A. D. Phillips, J. A. Stone and lady, Ijaye; T. A. Reid, and Mr. Mekin, Oyo, and Rev. D. Hinderer and lady, Ibaddan. I am indebted to the Baptist Missionaries for the use of their Mission House and furniture during our residence at Abbeokuta: Rev. John Roberts and lady, Miss Killpatrick, Reverend Bishop Burns and lady, Rev. Mr. Tyler, Rev. Mr. Gipson, Rev. Edward W. Blyden and others, Rev. Mr. Hoffman and lady, and Rev. Mr. Messenger and lady, all of Liberia, I am indebted for marks of personal kindness and attention when indisposed among them, and

my kind friends, the Reverend Alexander Crummell and lady, whose guest I was during several weeks near the Cape, and who spared no pains

to render my stay not only a comfortable, but a desirable one.

I would suggest for the benefit of missionaries in general. to whom they and those to whom it applies in particular, that there are other measures and ways by which civilization may be imparted than preaching and praying—temporal as well as spiritual means. If all persons who settle among the natives would, as far as it is in their power and comes within their province, induce, by making it a rule of their house or family, every native servant to sit on a stool or chair; eat at a table instead of on the ground; eat with a knife and fork (or begin with a spoon) instead of with their fingers; eat in the house instead of going out in the yard, garden, or somewhere else under a tree or shed; and sleep on a bed, instead of on a bare mat on the ground; and have them to wear some sort of a garment to cover the entire person above the knees, should it be but a single shirt or chemise, instead of a loose native cloth thrown around them, to be dropped at pleasure, at any moment exposing the entire upper part of the person—or as in Liberia, where that part of the person is entirely uncovered-I am certain that it would go far toward impressing them with some of the habits of civilized life, as being adapted to them as well as the "white man," whom they so faithfully serve with a will. I know that some may say, this is difficult to do. It certainly could not have been with those who never tried it. Let each henceforth resolve for himself like the son of Nun. "As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord."

changing names. I would also suggest that I cannot see the utility of the custom on the part of Missionaries in *changing* the names of native children, and even adults, so soon as they go into their families to live, as though their own were not good enough for them. These native names are generally much more significant, and euphonious than the Saxon, Gælic, or Celtic. Thus, Adenigi means, "Crowns have their shadow." This was the name of a servant boy of ours, whose father was a native cotton trader. It is to be hoped that this custom among Mis-ionaries and other Christian settlers, of changing the names of the natives, will be stopped, thereby relieving them of the impression, that to embrace the Christian faith, implies a loss of name, and so far loss of identity.

SECTION XI.

WHAT AFRICA NOW REQUIRES.

What Missionary From the foregoing, it is very evident that missionary duty has reached its ultimatum. By this, I mean that the native has received all that the missionary was sent to teach, and is now really ready for more than he can or may receive. He sees and knows that the white man, who first carried him the Gospel, which he has learned to a great extent to believe a reality, is of an entirely different race to himself; and has learned to look upon everything which he has, knows and does, which has not yet been imparted to him (especially when he is told by the mis-

sionaries, which frequently must be the case, to relieve themselves of the endless teasing enquiries which persons in their position are subject to concerning all and every temporal and secular matter, law, government, commerce, military, and other matters foreign to the teachings of the gospel, that these things he is not sent to teach, but simply the gospei) as peculiarly adapted and belonging to the white man. Of course, there are exceptions to this. Hence, having reached what he conceives to be the maximum of the black man's or African's attainments, there must be a re-action in some direction, and if not progressive it will be retrogressive.

The missionary has informed him that the white man's country is great. He builds and resides in great houses; lives in great towns and cities, with great churches and

palaver-houses (public and legislative halls); rides in great carriages; manufactures great and beautiful things; has great ships, which go to sea, to all parts of the world, instead of little canoes such as he has paddling up and down the rivers and on the coast; that the wisdom, power, strength, courage, and wealth of the white man and his country are as much greater than him and his as the big ships are larger and stronger than the little frail canoes; all of which he is made sensible of, either by

the exhibition of pictures or the reality.

He at once comes to a stand. "Of what use is the white man's religion and 'book knowledge' to me, since it does not not timely give me the knowledge and wisdom nor the wealth and power mate means.

of the white man, as all these things belong only to him? "Our young men and women learn their book, and talk on paper (write), and talk to God like white man (worship), but God no hear 'em like He hear white man! Dis religion no use to black man." And so the African reasonably reasons when he sees that despite his having yielded up old-established customs, the laws of his fathers, and almost his entire social authority, and the rule of his household to the care and guardianship of the missionary, for the sake of acquiring his knowledge and power-when after having learned all that his children can, he is doomed to see them sink right back into their old habits, the country continue in the same condition, without the beautiful improvements of the white manand if a change take place at all, he is doomed to witness what he never expected to see and dies regretting-himself and people entangled in the meshes of the government of a people foreign in kith, kin, and sympathy, when he and his are entirely shoved aside and compelled to take subordinate and inferior positions, if not, indeed, reduced to menialism and bondage. I am justified in asserting that this state of things has brought missionary efforts to their maximum and native progress to a pause.

Religion has done its work, and now requires temporal and secular aid to give it another impulse. The improved arts of civilized life must now be brought to bear, and go hand in hand in aid of the missionary efforts which are purely religious in character and teaching. I would not have the standard of religion lowered a single stratum of the common breeze of heaven. No, let it rather be raised, if, indeed, higher it can be. Christianity certainly is the most advanced civilization that man ever attained to, and wherever propagated in its purity, to be effective, law and government must be brought and Law or

Government must harmonize, to be effective of

in harmony with it-otherwise it becomes corrupted, and a corresponding degeneracy ensues, placing its votaries even in This was exemplified a worse condition than the primitive. by the Author of our faith, who, so soon as he began to teach,

commenced by admonishing the people to a modification of their lawsor rather himself to condemn them. But it is very evident that the social must keep pace with the religious, and the political with the social relations of society, to carry out the great measures of the higher civilization.

Of what avail, then, is advanced intelligence to the African without improved social relations-acquirements and refinement without an opportunity of a practical application of them-society in which they are appreciated? It requires not the most astute reformer and political philosopher to see.

higher social relations.

The native sees at once that all the higher social relations are the legitimate result and requirements of a higher intelligence, and naturally enough expects, that when he has attained it, to enjoy the same privileges and blessings. But how sadly mistaken-

what dire disappointment!

Native doubts respecting the eventual good effects of Missionary labor.

The habits, manners, and customs of his people, and the social relations all around him are the same; improvements of towns, cities, roads, and methods of travel are the same; implements of husbandry and industry are the same; the methods of conveyance and price of produce (with compara-

tive trifling variation) are the same All seem dark and gloomy for the future, and he has his doubts and fears as to whether or not he has committed a fatal error in leaving his native social relations for those of foreigners whom he cannot hope to emulate, and who, he thinks, will not assimilate themselves to him.

The proper ele-

It is clear, then, that essential to the success of civilization, ment as pro- is the establishment of all those social relations and organizagressive Missionary agencies tions, without which enlightened communities cannot exist.

To be successful, these must be carried out by proper agencies, and these agencies must be a new element introduced into their midst, possessing all the attainments, socially and politically, morally and religiously, adequate to so important an end. This element must be homogenous in all the natural characteristics, claims, sentiments, and sympathies—the descendants of Africa being the only element that can effect it. end, then, a part of the most enlightened of that race in America design to carry out these most desirable measures by the establishment of social and industrial settlements among them, in order at once to introduce, in an effective manner, all the well-regulated pursuits of civilized life.

Precaution against error in the first

That no mis-step be taken and fatal error committed at the commencement, we have determined that the persons to compose this new element to be introduced into Africa, shall be well and most carefully selected in regard to moral integrity,

intelligence, acquired attainments, fitness, adaptation, and, as far as practicable, religious sentiments and professions. We are serious in this; and, so far as we are concerned as an individual, it shall be restricted to the letter, and we will most strenuously oppose and set our face against any attempt from any quarter to infringe upon this arrangement and de-

sign. Africa is our fatherland and we its legitimate descendants, and we will never agree nor consent to see this-the first voluntary step that has ever been taken for her regeneration by her own descendants-blasted by a disinterested or renegade set, whose only object might be in the one case to get rid of a portion of the colored population, and in the other, make money, though it be done upon the destruction of every hope entertained and measure introduced for the accomplishment of this great and prospectively glorious undertaking. We cannot and will not permit or agree that the result of years of labor and anxiety shall be blasted at one reckless blow, by those who have never spent a day in the cause of our race, or know nothing about our wants and requirements. The descendants of Africa in North America will doubtless, by the census of 1860, reach five millions; those of Africa may number two hundred millions. I have outgrown, long since, the boundaries of North America. and with them have also outgrown the boundaries of their claims. therefore, cannot consent to sacrifice the prospects of two hundred millions, that a fraction of five millions may be benefitted, especially since the measures adopted for the many must necessarily benefit the few.

Africa, to become regenerated, must have a national character, and her position among the existing nations of the earth will depend mainly upon the high standard she may take compared with them in all her relations, morally, of Africa.

religiously, socially, politically, and commercially.

I have determined to leave to my children the inheritance of a country, the possession of territorial domain, the blessings of a national education, and the indisputable right of self-government; that they may not succeed to the servility and degradation bequeathed to us by our fathers. If we have not been born to fortunes, we should impart the seeds which shall germinate and give birth to fortunes for them.

SECTION XII.

TO DIRECT LEGITIMATE COMMERCE.

As the first great national step in political economy, the selection and security of a location to direct and command commerce legitimately carried on, as an export and import metropolis, is essentially necessary. The facilities for a metropolis should be adequate—a rich, fertile, and productive country surrounding it, with some great staple (which the world requires as a commodity) of exportation. A convenient harbor as an outlet and inlet, and natural facilities for improvement, are among the necessary requirements for such a location.

The basis of great nationality depends upon three elementary principles: first, territory; second, population; a great Nation—third, a great staple production either natural or artificial, or both, as a permanent source of wealth; and Africa comprises these to an almost unlimited extent. The continent is five thousand miles from

Cape Bon (north) to the Cape of Good Hope (south), and four thousand at its greatest breadth, from Cape Guardifui (east) to Cape de Verde (west), with an average breadth of two thousand five hundred miles, any three thousand of which within the tropics north and south, including the entire longitude, will produce the staple cotton, also sugar cane, coffee, rice, and all the tropical staples, with two hundred millions of natives as an industrial element to work this immense domain. The world is challenged to produce the semblance of a parallel to this. It has no rival in fact.

Lagos, at the mouth of the Ogun river in the Bight of Benin, Gulf of Guinea, 6 deg. 31 min. west coast of Africa, 120 miles north-west of the Nun (one of the mouths of the great river Niger) is the place of our location. This was once the greatest slave-trading post on the west coast of Africa, and in possession of the Portuguese-the slavers entering Ako Bay, at the mouth of the Ogun river, lying quite inland, covered behind the island till a favorable opportunity ensued to escape with their cargoes of buman beings for America. Wydah, the grert slave-port of Dahomi, is but 70 or 80 miles west of Lagos. This city is most favorably located at the mouth of a river which during eight months in the year is a great thoroughfare for native produce, which is now brought down and carried up by native canoes and boats, and quite navigable up to Aro the port of Abbeokuta, a distance of eighty or a hundred miles, for light-draught steamers, such as at no distant day we shall have there. Ako Bay is an arm of the gulf, extending quite inland for three and a half miles, where it spreads out into a great sea, extending north ten or fifteen miles, taking a curve east and south, passing on in a narrow strip for two or three hundred miles, till it joins the Niger at the mouth of the Nun. It is the real harbor of Lagos, and navigable for light-draught vessels, as the Baltimore clippers and all other such slavers, formerly put into it; and Her Majesty's war-steamer Medusa has been in, and H. M.'s cruiser Brun lies continually in the bay opposite the Consulate.

This is the great outlet of the rich valley of the Niger by land, and the only point of the ocean upon which the intelligent and advanced Yorubas are settled. The commerce of this part is very great, being now estimated at ten million pounds sterling. Besides all the rich products, as enumerated in another section, palm oil* and ivory are among the great staple products of this rich country. But as every nation, to be potent must have some great source of wealth—which if not natural must be artificial—so Africa has that without which the workshops of Great Britain would become deserted, and the general commerce of the world materially reduced; and Lagos must not only become the outlet and point at which all this commodity must centre, but

the great metropolis of this quatter of the world.

Trade of Logos. The trade of this port now amounts to more than two millions of pounds sterling, or ten millions of dollars, there having been at times as many as sixty vessels in the roadstead.

The merchants and business men of Logos are principally native black gentlemen, there being but ten white houses in the place—English, Ger-

^{*} Nine-tenths of all the Palm Oil of commerce goes from this point.

man, French, Portuguese, and Sardinian-and all of the clerks are native blacks.

Buoys in the roadstead, lighthouses (two) and wharf improvements at the city in the bay, with steam-tugs or tenders to tow vessels over the Ogun bar-mouth or inlet, are all that we require to make Lagos a desirable seaport, with one of the safest harbors in the world for light-draught vessels.

The fish in these waters are very fine, and Ako is one of Oysters and the finest natural oyster bays in the world. The shell-fish are generally of good size, frequently large, and finely flavored.

As a religious means, such a position must most largely contribute, by not only giving security to the Missionary philanthropic cause, but by the actual infusion of a religious social element permanently among the natives of the country; and as a philanthropic, by a permanent check to the slave trade, and also by its reflex influence on American slavery-not only thus far cutting off the supply, but also by superseding slavery in the growth and supply of those articles which comprise its great staple and source of wealth—thereby rendering slave labor unprofitable and worthless, as the succeeding section will show.

As to the possibility of putting a stop to the slave-trade, I have only to say, that we do not leave America and go to Slave Trade.

Africa to be passive spectators of such a policy as traffic in the flesh and blood of our kindred, nor any other species of the human race—more we might say—that we will not live there and permit it. "Self-preservation is the first law of nature," and we go to Affrica to be self-sustaining; otherwise we have no business there, or anywhere else, in my opinion. We will bide our time; but the Slave-trade shall not con-

tinue!

Another important point of attention: that is, the slavetrade ceases in Arica, wherever enlightened Christian civilization gains an influence. And as to the strength and power necessary, we have only to add, that Liberia, with a coast frontier of seven hundred miles, and a sparse population, which at the present only numbers fifteen thousand settlers, has been effective in putting a stop to that infamous traffic along her entire coast. And I here record with pleasure, and state what I know to be the fact, and but simple justice to as noble-hearted antagonists to slavery as live, that the Liberians are uncompromising in their opposition to oppression and the enslavement of their race, or any other part of the human family. I speak of them as a nation or people, and ignore entirely their Iscariots, if any there be. What they have accomplished with less means, we, by the help of Providence, may reasonably expect to effect with more—what they did with little, we may do with much. And I speak with confidence when I assert, that if we in this new position but do and act as we are fondly looked to and expected—as I most fondly hope and pray God that, by a prudent, discretionate and well-directed course, dependant upon Him, we may, nay, I am certain we will do—I am sure that there is nothing that may be required to aid in the prosecution and accomplishment of this important and long-desired end, that may not be obtained from the greatest and most potent Christian people and nation that ever graced the world. There is no aid that might be wanted, which may not be obtained through a re-

sponsible, just, and equitable negotiation.

There is some talk by Christians and philanthropists in Great Britain of subsidizing the King of Dahomi. I hope of Pahomi. I hope for the sake of humanity, our race, and the cause of progressive civilization, this most injurious measure of compensation for wrong, never will be resorted to nor attempted.

To make such an offering just at a time when we are about to establish a policy of self-regeneration in Africa, which may, by example and precept, effectually check forever the nefarious system, and reform the character of these people, would be to offer inducements to that monster to continue, and a license to other petty chiefs to commence the traffic in human beings, to get a reward of subsidy.

SECTION XIII.

COTTON STAPLE.

Natural elements to produce cotton.

Cotton grows profusely in all this part of Africa, and is not only produced naturally, but extensively cultivated throughout the Yoruba country. The soil, climate, and the people are the three natural elements combined to produce this indispensible commodity, and with these three natural agencies, no other part of the world can compete.

Africans the only reliable producers. In India there is a difficulty and great expense and outlay of capital required to obtain it. In Australia it is an experiment; and though it may eventually be obtained, it must also involve an immense outlay of capital, and a long time before an adequate supply can be had, as it must be admitted, however reluctantly by those desirous it should be otherwise, that the African, as has been justly said by a Manchester merchant, has in all ages, in all parts of the world, been sought to raise cotton wherever it has been produced.

In America there are several serious contingencies which Serious conmust always render a supply of cotton from that quarter problematical and doubtful, and always expensive and subject to tainty in American cot sudden, unexpected and unjust advances in prices. ton supply. the first place, the land is purchased at large prices; secondly, the people to work it; thirdly, the expense of supporting the people, with the contingencies of sickness and death; fourthly, the uncertainty of climate and contingencies of frost, and a backward season and consequent late or unmatured crop; fifthly, insubordination on the part of the slaves, which is not Improbable at any time; sixthly, suspension of friendly relations between the United States and Great Britain; and lastly, a rupture between the American States themselves, which I think no one will be disposed now to consider impossible. All, or any of these circumstances combined, render it impossible for America to compete with Africa in the growth and sale of cotton, for the following reasons:

Firstly, landed tenure in Africa is free, the occupant selecting as much as he can cultivate, holding it so long as he uses vintages of it, but cannot convey it to another; secondly, the people all being free, can be hired at a price less than the interest of tries in the the capital invested in land and people to work it-they finding their own food, which is the custom of the country;

Africa over all other coun-

thirdly, there are no contingencies of frost or irregular weather to mar or blight the crop; and fourthly, we have two regular crops a year, or rather one continuous crop, as while the trees are full of pods of ripe cotton, they are at the same time blooming with fresh flowers. And African cotton is planted only every seven years, whilst the American is replanted every season. Lastly, the average product per acre on the best Mississippi and Louisiana cotton plantations in America, is three hundred and fifty pounds; the average per acre in Africa, a hundred per cent. more, or seven hundred pounds. As the African soil produces two crops a year to one in America, then we in Africa produce fourteen hundred pounds to three bundred and fifty in America; the cost of labor a hand being one dollar or four shillings a day to produce it; whilst in Africa at present it is nine hundred per cent. less, being only ten cents or five pence a day for adult At this price the native lives better on the abundance of produce in the country, and has more money left at the end of a week than the European or free American laborer at one dollar a day.

Cotton, as before stated, is the great commodity of the world, entering intimately into, being incorporated with almost every kind of fabric of wearing apparel. All kinds of woollen goods-cloths, flannels, alpacas, meriuoes, and even silks, linen, nankin, ginghams, calicoes, muslins, cordages, ship sails, carpeting, hats, hose, gloves, threads, waddings, paddings, tickings, every description of book and newspaper, writing paper,

candle wicks, and what not, all depend upon the article cotton.

By this it will be seen and admitted that the African occupies a much more important place in the social and political element of the world than that which has heretofore been assigned him-holding the balance of commercial power, the source of the weath of nations in his hands. This is indisputably true-undeniable, that cotton cannot be produced with-

the African Race in the Social and Political Rela-

out negro labor and skill in raising it. Great Britain alone has directly engaged in the manufacture of pure fabrics from the raw material, five millions of Rice sustains

persons; two-thirds more of the population depend upon this commodity indirectly for a livelihood. The population (I include in this calculation Ireland) being estimated at 30,000,000, we have then 25,000,-000 of people, or five-sixths of the population of this great nation, depending upon the article cotton alone for subsistence, and the black man is the producer of the raw material, and the source from whence it comes. What an important fact to impart to the heretofore despised and underrated negro race, to say nothing of all the other great nations of Europe, as France, for instance, with her extensive manufactures of muslin delaines -which simply mean cotton and wool-more or less engaged in the manufacture and consumption of cotton.

If the negro race—as slaves—can produce cotton as an exotic in foreign climes to enrich white men who oppress them, they can, they must, they will, they shall, produce it as an indigene in their own-loved native Africa to enrich themselves, and regenerate their race; if a faithful reliance upon the beneficence and promise of God, and an humble submission to his will, as the feeble instruments in his hands through which the work is commenced, shall be available to this end.

The Liberians must as a policy as much as possible, patronise home manufactured, and home produced articles. Instead of using foreign, they should prefer their own sugar, molasses, and coffee, which is equal to that produced in any other country; and if not, it is the only way to encourage the farmers and manufacturers to improve them. The coffee of Liberia, is equal to any in the world, and I have drunk some of the native article, superior in strength and flavor to Java or Mocco, and I rather solicit competition in judgment of the article of coffee. And singular as it may appear, they are even supplied from abroad with spices and condiments, although their own country as also all Africa, is prolific in the production of all other articles, as allspice, ginger, pepper black and red, mustard and everything else.

They must also turn their attention to supplying the Coast settlements with sugar and molasses, and everything else of their own production which may be in demand. Logos and the Missionary stations in the interior, now consume much of these articles, the greater part of which—sugar and molasses—are imported from England and America. This trade they might secure in a shorth time without successful competition, because many of the Liberia merchants now own vessels. and the firm of Johnson, Turpin and Dunbar, own a fine little coasting steamer, and soon they would be able to undersell the foreigners; whilst at present their trade of these articles in America is a mere favor through the benevolence of some good hearted gentlemen, personal friends of theirs, who receive and dispose of them-sugar and molasses-at a price much above the market value, to encourage them. This can only last while these friends continue, when it must then cease. ceed as a state or nation, we must become self-reliant, and thereby able to create our own ways and means; and a trade created in Africa bu civilized Africans, would be a national rock of "everlasting ages."

Domestic Trade. Corn meal, duinea corn and Yam flour. The domestic trade among the natives in the interior of Africa—Yoruba—is very great. Corn meal, Guinea corn flour very fine, and a fine flour made of yams is plentiful in every market, and cooked food can always be had

in great abundance from the women at refreshment stands kept in every town and along the highway every few miles when traveling.

Molasses candy or "taffy," is carried about and sold by young girls, made from the syrup of sugar cane, which does not differ in appearance and flavor from that of civilized countries.

Soap. Hard and soft soap are for sale in every market for domestic uses, made from lye by percolation or dripping of water through ashes in large earthern vessels or "hoppers."

coloring and Coloring and dying is carried on very generally, every

women seeming to understand it as almost a domestic neces-nying. sity; also the manufacturing of indigo, the favorite and most digo common color of the country. Red comes next to this which is mostly obtained of camwood, another domestic employment of the

women. Yellow is the next favorite color. Hence, blue, red, and yellow,

may be designated as the colors or Yoruba or Central Africa.

The manufactory of cotton cloth is carried on quite extensively among them; and in a ride of an hour through the cloth manufactucity of Illorin, we counted one hundred and fifty-seven looms ring; Leather. in operation in several different establishments. Beautiful and excellent leather is also manufactured, from which is made sandals, shoes, boots, bridles, saddles, harness-caparisons for horses, and other ornaments and They all wear clothes of their own manufacture. The inhabitants of Abbeokuta are called Egbas, and those of all the other parts of Yoruba are called Yorubas—all speaking the Egba language.

Our policy must be—and I hayard nothing in promulging A fixed policy it; nay, without this design and feeling, there would be a for the blacks, great deficiency of self-respect, pride of race, and love of as a fundamental necessity. country, and we might never expect to challenge the respect

of nations—Africa for the African race, and black men to rule them. By black men I mean, men of African decent who claim an identity with

So contrary to old geographical notions, Africa abounds Internal medium with handsome navigable rivers, which during six or eight of Communication. months in the year, would carry steamers suitably built. tion. Navigable rivers. Of such are the _____ St. Paul, Junk, and Kavalla of Liberia; the Ogun, Ossa, the great Niger and others of and contigions to Yoruba, the Gambia, Senegambia, Orange, Zambisi and others of other parts. The Kavalla is a beautiful stream which for one hundred miles is scarcely inferior to the Hudson of New York, in any particular; and all of them equal the rivers of the Southern States of America generally which pour out by steamers the rich wealth of the planting States into the Mississippi. With such prospects as these; with such a people as the Yorubas and others of the best type, as a constituent industrial, social, and political element upon which to establish a national edifice, what is there to prevent success? Nothing in the world.

The Governments in this part are generally Patriarchial, the Kings being elective from ancient Royal families by the Native Government.

Council of Elders, which consists of men chosen for life by

the people, for their age, wisdom, experience, and service among them. They are a deliberative body, and all cases of great importance; of state, life and death, must be brought before them. The King as well as either of themselves, is subject to trial and punishment for misdemeanor in office, before the Council of Elders.

Lagos is the place of the family residence of that excellent gentleman Aji, or the Rev. Samuel Crowther, the native Missionary; and also his son-in-law Rev. T. B. Macaulay, who has an excellent school, assisted by

his wife an educated native lady.

"Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God."—Ps. lxviii. 31. With the fullest reliance upon this

blessed promise, I humbly go forward in—I may repeat—the grandest prospect for the generation of a people that ever was presented in the history of the world. The disease has long since been known; we have found and shall apply the remedy. I am indebted to Rev. H. H. Garnet, an eminent black clergyman and scholar, for the construction, that "soon," in the Scriptural passage quoted, "has reference to the period ensuing from the time of beginning." With faith in the promise, and hope from this version, surely there is nothing to doubt or fear.

SECTION XIV.

SUCCESS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Departure from Africa and arrival in England. Mr. Campbell and myself left Lagos on the 10th of April, per the British Royal Mail steam-ship Athenian, commander Lowrie, arriving in Liverpool May 12th, and in London on the 16th, having spent four days in the former place

on Thursday, the 17th, by a note of invitation, we met a number of noblemen and gentlemen, interested in the progress of African Regeneration, in the parlour of Dr. Hodgkin, F.R.G.S., among whom were the Lord Alfred S. Churchill, Chairman; Right Hon. Lord Calthorpe; Hon. Mr. Ashley, brother of the Earl of Shaftesbury; Colonel Walker; Charles Buxton, Esq., M.P.; Rev. J. Baldwin Brown, A.B.; Rev. Samuel Minton, M.A.; Dr. Hodgkin, and others. By request of the noble chairman, I made a statement of our Mission to Africa, imparting to the first of their knowledge, our true position as independent of all other societies and organizations then in existence. Mr Campbell also made some remarks.

Many subsequent meetings were held in various places, private and public, several of which were presided over by the Lord Alfred S. Churchill and Rt. Hon. Lord Calthorpe, at which I and Mr. Campbell both spoke; when in June an invitation was received by each of us from the "Com-

origin of the African Aid "Wednesday evening, June 27th, 1860, when information will be given on the Condition and Prospects of the African Race." The invitation (being the same as sent to all other persons) went on to state that, "Among others, Dr. Delany, of Canada West, and R. Campbell Esq., of Philadelphia, gentlemen of color, lately returned from an exploring tour in Central Africa, will take part in the proceedings."

This was the first great effective move in aid of our cause, though all other previous meetings were preliminary to it. At this, as at previous meetings, a full and thorough statement was made of our mission, several gentlemen taking part in the discussion.

Subsequently the following note was received—Mr. Campbell receiving a similar one—with the accompanying circular, referred to as the "enclosed paper":—

"African Aid Society, 7, Adams Street, Strand, W. C., July 14th, 1860.
"Dear Sir—The Provisional Committee of the above named Society will feel

obliged if you will kindly attend a meeting to be held at the Caledonian Hotel, Robert Street, Adelphi Terrace, on Thursday next, July 19th, to consider the enclosed paper, and to decide on a further course of action. Lord Alfred Churchill, M.P., will take the chair at half-past two o'clock.

"Dr. Delany."

"I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,
"WILLIAM CARDALL, Hon. Sec."

"African Aid Society, July, 1860.

"At a meeting held at 7, Adams Street, on July 6th, 1860, (arising out of the proceedings of a soiree, which took place at the National Club, on the 27th of the previous month, when the subject of the "Condition and Prospects of the African Race" was discussed) present, Lord Alfred Churchill, M.P. in the chair; Lord Calthorpe; Sir C. E. Eardley, Bart; Joseph Ferguson, Esq., late M.P. for Carlisle; Rev. Mesac Thomas, Secretary of the Colonial Church and School Society; Rev. J. Davis; Rev. Samuel Minton, Minister of Percy Chapel; J. Lyons Macleod, Esq., late H.B.M.'s Consul at Mozambique; Rev. J. Baldwin Brown, Claylands Chapel; and Rev. W. Cardall, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

Cardall, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

"1. That it is desirable to form a Society, to be designated the 'African Aid Society.' II. That the noblemen and gentlemen now present be a Provisional Committee of such Society, with power to add to their number; and that Lord Alfred Churchill, M.P., be requested to be Chairman. III. That Sir C. E. Eardley, Bart.. J. Lyons Macleod, Esq., the Rev. S. Minton, and the Rev. J. Baldwin Brown, be a Sub-Committee to prepare a draft statement of the proposed objects of the Society, and rules for its govern-

ment."

At a subsequent meeting of the Committee, on a report of the Sub-Committee, the statement of objects and rules was adopted, which is

given above.

The contents of this paper had been fully and fairly discussed at a previous meeting to which myself and oclleague what black were honored with an invitation, when I then and there, fully, openly, and candidly stated to the noblemen and gentlemen present what we desired and what we did not; that we desired to be dealt with as men, and not children. That we did not desire gratuities as such in the apportioning of their benevolence—nothing eleemosynary but means loaned to our people upon their personal obligations, to be paid in produce or otherwise. That we did not approve of restriction as to where such persons went (so that it was to some country where the population was mainly colored, as that was our policy) letting each choose and decide for him-

self, that which was best for him.

To these sentiments the noblemen and gentlemen all cordially and heartily agreed, establishing their society, as we of the African understand it, expressly to aid the voluntary emigration of Aid Society. colored people from America in general, and our movement as originated by colored people in particular. Indeed, I here now say, as I did then and there, that I would give nothing for it, were it not a self-reliant project, originating with ourselves. The following completes the doings of the gentlemen in London. I should have remarked, that at many of these meetings, especially that at White Hall on the 27th of June, and that of the 19th July, and the preliminary ones above referred to, the respected President of our Council, Wm. Howard Day, Esq., M. A., was present. For some of the important preliminary meetings, he and Rev. D'Arcy Irvine kindly made arrangements.

AFRICAN AID SOCIETY.

7.* ADAM STRAND, STRAND, W. C., LONDON. PRESIDENT.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

The Right Hon. Lord Calthorpe. The Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Sierra Leone. COUNCIL.

The Lord Alfred Churchill, N.P., F.R.G.S., Chairman of the Executive Committee Ashley, Hon. Wm., St. James's Palace. * M'Arthur. Wm., Esq., Brixton-rise. Bagnall, Thomas, Esq., J. P., Great Barr, near Birmingham.

* Brown, Rev. J. Baldwin, B.A., 150,

Albany Street. Bullock, Edward, Esq., Handsworth, near Birmingham.

Cardall, Rev. Wm., M.A., Sec., of the Evangelical Alliance.

Clegg, Thomas, Esq., Manchester. * Davis, Rev. James, Sec. of the Evangelical Alliance.

Dunlop, Hy., Esq., Craigton, Glasgow. * Eardley, Sir C. E., Bart., F.R.G.S. Bed-

well Park. * Ferguson, Joseph, Esq., late P.M. for Carlisle.

Fowler, R. N., Esq., F.R.G,S., 50, Corn-

La Trobe, C. J., Esq., F.R.G.S., late Governor of Victoria.

La Trobe, Rev. P., Sec. of the Moravian Missions.

Lecke, Rear-Admiral Sir H.J., K.C.B., M.P.

* Macleod, J. Lyons, Esq., F.R.G.S. late H.B.M.'s Consul at Mozam-

bique. * Minton, Rev. Samuel, M. A., Minister

of Percy Chapel. Richardson, Jonathan, Esq., M.P.

Seymour, H. Danby, Esq., M. P., F.R.G.S. Shaw, Dr. Norton, Sec. of the Royal

Geographical Society. Snopp, Rev. C. B., Perry Bar, near

Birmingham.

Sykes, Col. W. H. M.P., Vice-President of the Royal Geographical Society.

* Thomas, Rev. Mesac, M.A. Sec. of the Colonial Church and School Society.

Thompson, Geo., Esq., Drixton. Tidman, Rev. Dr., Sec. of the London Missionary Society.

Trestrail, Rev. Fred., Sec. of the Baptist Missionary Society.

Wingfield, R. W., Esq., J. P., Birmingham.

WILLIAM CARDALL, J. LYONS MCLEOD, Hon. Secretaries.

Those marked thus (*) constitute the Executive Committee.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND RULES.

I. That the name of the Society be the "African Aid Society."
II. That its chief objects shall be to develop the material resources of Africa, Madagascar, and the adjacent Islands; and to promote the Christian civilization of the African races; as by these means the Society believes that the annihilation of the Slave Trade will ultimately be accomplished.

III. That for the attainment of these objects it will strive to employ the following

and other suitable means:-

1. Encourage the production of cotton, silk, indigo, sugar, palm oil, &c., by the introduction of skilled labor, African or Europeon, into those parts of the earth which are inhabited by the African race.

Assist, by loans or otherwise, Africans willing to emigrate from Canada and other parts to our West Indian Colonies, Liberia, Natal, and Africa generally, or to any countries that may offer a suitable field of labor.

3. Form Industrial Missions in harmony, where practicable, with the agency already established for the extension of Christianity in Africa. 4. Supply (as occasion may require) suitable Mechanical and Agricultual Imple

ments for the use of the same.

5. Procure samples of every kind of native produce, for the purpose of submitting the same to the mercantile and manufacturing communities of this country, with a view to the promotion of legitimate commerce.

6. Encourage and assist exploring expeditions into the interior of Africa and

IV. That Subscribers of not less than Half a Guinea annually be Members of this * Now 8 Adelphi Terrace, Strand.

Society, during the continuance of their subscriptions; that the subscriptions be payable in advance, and be considered due at the commencement of each year; that Donors of Ten Guineas and Collectors of Twenty Guineas be Life Members.

V. That the management of the Society be vested in a Patron, Vice-Patrons, President, Vice-Presidents, and a Council consisting of not less than Twenty Members.

VI. That a general Meeting of the Members of the Society be held in London in the spring of each year, when the financial statement shall be presented, and the Council elected for the year ensuing, who shall appoint an Executive Committee to conduct the business of the Society.

VII. That the Honorary and Corresponding Members may be nominated by the

Council.

VIII. That any funded property of the Society be invested in the names of three Trustees, to be chosen by the Council, and that all orders for payments on account of the Society be signed by two Members of the Executive Committee and the Secretary.

IX. That the accounts of the Society be audited annually by a professional audi-

tor, to be chosen by the General Meeting.

X. That the Council shall have power to appoint such officers and assistants as they shall deem necessary for the efficient conduct of the affairs of the Society, subject to the approval of the next Annual Meeting.

XI. That the Council shall have power to convene Special General Meetings of

the Members of the Society when necessary.

XII. That no alteration shall be effected in the constitution of the Society, except at the Annual Meeting, or at a Special General Meeting convened for the purpose on

the requisition of Twenty Members.

In furtherance of the objects of this Society, the Executive Committee, with the generous aid of friends to this movement, have already assisted Dr. Delany and Professor Campbell (two colored gentleman from America) with funds to enable them to continue their labors and to lay before the colored people of America the reports of the Pioneer Exploration Expedition into Abbookuta, in West Africa, from which they have lately returned.

A correspondence has already been opened with Jamaica, Lagos in West Africa, Natal, the United States of America, and "The Fugitive-Aid Society"—which for the last ten years has been receiving and instructing fugitive Africans in agricultural

and other pursuits on the Elgin settlement-at Buxton, Canada West.

The assistance of all friends to Christianity, Freedom, and lawful Commerce, as opposed to the Slave Trade and Slavery, is earnestly solicited.

"COTTON IS KING! IN AMERICA." "COTTON IS BREAD! IN ENGLAND."

The free colored people of America are said to be looking forward to their ultimate removal from the United States, and are anyiously seeking for locations suitable for their final settlement in Africa or other inter-tropical regions; where they may obtain that freedom which is the inherent right of man, and by their industry acquire adequate independence.

The African Aid Society has been formed to assist this movement, and to annihilate the slave trade, by encouraging the development of the resources of those countries inhabited by the African races generally, as well as to cause African free labor to

supersede African slavery and degradation.

In Canada West no less than 45,000 colored persons, flying from slavery, have now taken refuge; willing to meet the rigors of the climate, so that they are assured of personal freedom under the agis of the British flag. From the enactments lately made in some States of the Union, for the purpose of compelling all the free people of color either to leave the country or to be again reduced to a state of slavery, a considerable addition will, no doubt, shortly be made to the number of those who have already found their way to Canada; while, from physical causes, Canada can be looked upon by the colored people only as a "City or Refuge."

Great Britain has for half a century been employing physical force for the suppression of the slave trade, which after the expenditure of upwards of forty millions sterling, and the noble sacrifice of the lives of some of the best and bravest of her sons, still exists. It is but just to state that the exportation of slaves from Africa.

has been reduced from 150,000 to 50,000 per annum, by the persvering effort of those who are opposed to a traffic disgraceful to Christianity.

Is the ultimate object of those who are opposed to this traffic its suppression or its annihilation? The annihilation of the slave trade and slavery in Africa was unquestionably the aim of the philanthrophists who originated this great movement.

The experience of half a century has proved that physical force cannot destroy the traffic while there is a demand for slave labor. Diplomacy must be baffled in its well-intentioned efforts to oppose this traffic while the profits for carrying each slave from the continent of Africa to the island of Cuba amount to the enormous return of fourteen hundred per cent.

It is a well-attested fact, that the same quality of cotton may be obtained from

Africa for twenty millions of money for which Great Britain pays the slaveholders in America thirty millions per annum. If cotton can be sold in the Liverpool market at anything less than 43d, per lb., the slaveholders in America will cease to grow what, under altered circumstances, would be unprofitable. Cotton of middling quality (which is in the greatest demand) may be obtained in West and Eastern Africa at 4d. per lb.; and, already, cotton from Western Africa (Liberia) has been sent to Liverpool, there re-shipped, and sold at Boston, in the United States, at a less cost than cotton of a similar quality could be supplied from the Southern States of the Union.

The Executive Committee feel assured that the peaceful means adopted by this society for the Christian civilization of the African races require only the advocacy of Christian Ministers and the Press generally to be responded to by the people of Great Britain.

The horrors of the slave trade, as perpetrated on the continent of Africa and during the middle passage, can only be put an end to by the establishment of a lawful and a lucrative, a powerful and a permanent, trade between this country and Africa; which will have the effect of destroying the slave trade, spreading the Gospel of Christ, and civilizing the African races. For this purpose the support of the mercantile class is earnestly solicited for a movement which—commenced by the colored prople of America flying from oppression—bids fair to open new cotton fields for the supply of British industry, and new markets for our commerce, realizing the sublime promise of Scripture, "Cast thy bread upon the waters, and after many days it shall return unto thee."

Alarmists point to the sparks in the cotton fields of America, while thoughtful men reflect that the commercial prosperity of this great country hangs upon a thread of cotton, which a blight of the plant, an insurrection among the slaves, an untimely frost, or an increased demand in the Northern States of the Union, might destroy; bringing to Lancashire first, and then to the whole kingdom, a return of the Irish famine of 1847, which reduced the population of that portion of the kingdom from eight to six millions.

"The Southern States of the American Union are following the example of the infatuated Louis the Fourteenth of France. As he drove into exile thousands of his subjects engaged in manufactures and trade, who sought refuge in England and laid the foundation of our manufacturing supremacy, so are the Slave States now driving from their confines thousands of freed colored men. Where are the exiles The Free States are too crowded, and Canada too cold for them. Can we not offer them an asylum in Jamaica and other colonies? They are the cream, the best of their race; for it is by long-continued industry and economy that they have been enabled to purchase their freedom, and joyfully will they seize the hand of deliverance which Great Britain holds out to them. We only want additional labor; give us that, and we shall very soon cultivate our own cotton."-Slavery Doomed.

FUGITIVE-AID SOCIETY IN CANADA.

At a meeting held in the Town Hall, Manchester, on the 8th of August inst., the following remarks were made by Thomas Clegg, Esq., who presided on the occasion. The Chairman said that they held but one opinion as to the horrors and evils of slavery; and he thought that most of them believed that one of the great benefits which would result from Africans trained in Canada being sent to Africa, would be

that they could there, for the advantage of themselves and their country, grow cotton, sugar, and fifty other articles, which we much needed. During his first year's operations in getting cotton from Africa, all his efforts only purchased 235lbs.; but in 1858, he got 219,615lbs.; and he saw from one of the London papers of the previous day, that not less than 3,447 bales, or 417.087lbs., were received from the West Coast during 1869. This rapid increase, in the early history of the movement, showed that Africa was the place that could grow cotton, and that Africans were the men who ought to grow it. (Hear, hear.) There was no part of Africa, of which he had heard, where cotton did not grow wild; there was no part of the world, except India, perhaps, in which cotton was cultivated, where it was not sought to obtain Africans as cultivators. Wild African cotton was worth from 11d. to 21d. a-pound more than the wild produce of India; cultivated cotton from the West Coast was worth, on an average, as much as New Orleans possibly could be. (Hear, hear.) He would undertake that good African cotton could be laid down free in Liverpool at 44d, per pound; that it should be equal to New Orleans; and at this moment such cotton was worth probably 61 d. per pound. (Hear, hear.) He looked upon this question as affecting not only the success of missions, but as affecting also the eternal welfare of the Africans and the temporal welfare of our people.

HEATHEN AND SLAVE-TRADE HURRORS.

"At Lagos, communication between the town and the shipping had been suspended for ten days, in consequence of the high surf at the entrance of the river and along the beach and great difficulty was experienced in getting off the mails. The war in the interior, between the chiefs of Ibadan and Ijaye, continued with unabated fury; the former district is said to contain 100,000 inhabitants, and the latter 50,000. Abbeokuta had taken side with Ijaye, but at the last battle, which took place on the 5th of June, his people are reported to have suffered severely. King of Dahomey was about to make an immense sacrifice of human life to the memory of the late King, his father. The West African Herald, of the 13th ult., referring to this intention, says: His Majesty Badahung, King of Dahomey, is about to make the 'Grand Custom' in honor of the late King Gezo. Determined to surpass all former monarchs in the magnitude of the ceremonies to be performed on this occasion. Badahung has made the most extensive preparations for the celebration of the Grand Custom. A great pit has been dug which is to contain human blood enough to float a canoe. Two thousand persons will be sacrificed on this occasion. The expedition to Abbeokuta is postponed, but the King has sent his army to make some excursions at the expense of some weaker tribes, and has succeeded in capturing many unfortunate creatuers. The young people among these prisoners will be sold into slavery, and the old persons will be killed at the Grand Custom. Would to God this might meet the eyes of some of those philanthropic Englishmen who have some feeling for Africa! Oh! for some man of cloquence and influence to point out to the people of England the comparative uselessness of their expensive squadron out here, and the enormous benefits that must result to this country, and ultimately to England herself, morally and materially, if she would extend her establishments on this coast! Take away two-thirds of your squadron, and spend one-half its cost in creating more stations on shore, and greatly strengthening your old stations."-The Times, August 13, 1860.

The following extract from the Times, August 11, 1860, shows that noble hearts across the Atlantic are ready to respond to our call:—

"A NOBLE LADY.—Miss Cornelia Barbour, a daughter of the Hon. James Barbour, of Virginia, formerly Governor of that State, and a Member of President J. Q. Adams' Cabinet, has resolved to emancipate her numerous slaves, and locate them in a Free State, where they can enjoy liberty and (if they will) acquire property."—New York Tribune.

To Contributions to the Funds of this Society may be paid to the Chairman, the Hon. Secretary, or to the Society's account at the London and Westminster Bank, 1, St. James's equare. P.O. Orders to be made payable to the Honorary Secretaries at Charing-cross.

August, 1860.

The subjoined paper has been issued by the African Aid Society, London. England, which I give for the benefit of those desirous of going out under its auspices, as it will be seen that the Society is determined on guarding well against aiding such persons as are objectionable to us, and likely to be detrimental to our scheme:

AFRICAN AID SOCIETY.

PAPER FOR INTENDING SETTLERS IN AFRICA.

"1. Are you desirous to leave and go to the Land of your Forefathers?
2. Name. 3. Age. 4. Married or Single. 5. What Children (state ages:) Boys, aged years; Girls, aged years. 6. How many of these will you take with you?
7. Of what church are you a member? 8. How long have you been so?
9. Can you read and write? 10. Will you strive to spread the truths of the Gospel among the natives? 11. What work are you now doing? 12. What other work can you do well? 13. Have you worked on a plantation? 14. What did you do there? 15. Will you, in the event of the African Aid Society sending you and your family to Africa, repay to it the sum of Dollars, as part of the cost of your passage , as soon as possible, that the same money may assist and settlement there others to go there also?

"N.B.—It is expected that persons desiring to settle in Africa, under the auspices of this society, should obtain Certificates from their Minister, and if possible from their Employer, or other competent person, as to their respectability, habits, and character. These certificates should be attached to this paper."

I have every confidence in the sincerity of the Christian gentlemen who compose the African Aid Society, and for the information of those who are unacquainted with the names of those noblemen and gentlemen, would state that the Lord Alfred Churchill is the learned Oriental traveler and Christian philanthropist, brother to His Grace the Duke of Marlborough and son in-law of Right Hon. Lord Calthorpe, Right Hon. Lord Calthorpe is the great Christian noblem in who does so much for Churches in Great Britain, and member of Her Majesty's Privy Council; Sir Culling Eardley Eardley is the great promoter of the Evangelical Alliance; George Thompson, Esq., is the distinguished traveler and faithful friend of the slave, known in America as a Garrisonian Abolitionist; and J. Lyons McLeod, Esq, the indefatigable British Consul who so praiseworthily exerted himself, and brought the whole of his official power to bear against the slave-trade on the Mozambique Channel. There are other gentlemen of great distinction, whose positions are not explained in the council list, and a want of knowledge prevents my explaining,

Before leaving England for Scotland, I received while at Brighton. the following letter, which indicate somewhat the importance of our project, and shows, in a measure, the superiority of the people in our part of Africa, and what may be expected of them compared with some in other p rts; and how the Portuguese influence has ruined them. I may add. that the writer, Mr. Clarence, is a gentleman of respectability, brother-inlaw to Edmund Fry, Esq., the distinguished Secretary of the London Peace Society. Mr. Clarence has resided in that part of Africa for twen-

ty-five years, and was then on a visit to his relatives:

" DR. DELANY:

[&]quot;Brighton, August 28, 1860.

[&]quot;MY DEAR SIR-I am sorry that I am obliged to leave Brighton before you deliver your lectures, and as we may not meet again. I thought I would write you a few lines just to revive the subject that was passing our minds yesterday. I cannot

but think, if it were practicable for a few thousands, or even hundreds, of your West Coast men to come round to the East Coast, that is, to Port Natal, an immense amount of good would be derived therefrom; not only in assisting to abolish the barbarous customs of our natives in showing them that labor is honorable for man. but that the English population would appreciate their services, and that they would be able to get good wages. What we want is constant and reliable laborors; not those who come by fits and starts, just to work for a month and then be off. They must select their masters, and then make an engagement for twelve months; or it might be after a month on approval. Good laborers could get fifteen shillings per month, and as their services increased in value they would get twen to shillings,

and their allowance of food, which is always abundant.

"I have thought that some might work their passage down to the Cape of Good Hope in some of Her Majesty's Men-of-War, and from there they might work their passage in some of the coasting vessels that are continually plying backwards and forwards. My farm is only five miles from the Port. Should any ever come from your representations, direct them to me, and should I not require them myself I will give them such information as may lead them to find good masters. I have always said that Natal is the key to the civilization of South Africa; but, however, there are sometimes two keys to a door, and yours on the West, though a little north of the Line, may be the other; and, by God's blessing, I trust that the nations of the East and West may, before long, meet in Central Africa, not in hostile array, as African nations always have done, but in the bonds of Christian fellowship. Wishing you rations always date control of the c

"RALPH CLARENCE."

Note.—Mr. Clarence is requesting to be sent some of our industrious natives from Western Africa, as he informed me that those in the East think it disreputable to work. The term "master" is simply English; it means employer. The "fifteen" and "twenty" referred to, means shillings sterling.

SECTION XV.

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS IN SCOTLAND.

I have only to add, as a finality of my doings and mission in Great Britain, that in Scotland I fully succeeded in establishing commercial relations for traffic in all kinds of native African produce, especially cotton, which businesses are to be done directly and immediately between us and them, without the intervention or agencies of any society or association whatever. The only agencies in the case are to be the producers, sellers, and buyers—the Scottish house dealing with us as men, and not children. These arrangements are made to facilitate, and give us the assurance of the best encouragement to prosecute vigorously commercial enterprises—especially, as before stated, the cotton culture—the great source of wealth to any people and all civilized nations.

The British people have the fullest confidence in our integrity to carry out these enterprises successfully, and now only Business integrity. await our advent there, and commencement to do anything necessary we may desire, or that the circumstances justify. Each individual is regarded as a man in these new relations, and, ar such, expected to make his own contracts according to business custom, discharging in like manner his individual obligations. It must here be expressly understood that there are to be nothing but business relations between us, their entire confidence and dependence being in the self-reliant, independent transactsons of black men themselves. We are expected, and will be looked for, to create our own ways and means among ourselves as other men do.

As an earnest of the estimate set upon our adventure, I subjoin the names of a number of the leading commercial British journals—the two first being English, and all the others Scottish, in the midst of manufacturing districts, and all speaking favor-

ably of the project:

The Leeds Mercury, the Newcastle Daily Chronicle, the Glasgow Herald, the Glasgow Examiner, the Scottish Guardian, the North British Daily Mail, the Glasgow Morning Journal, the Mercantile Advertiser, and others. (For absence of these notices, see author's prefatory note.)

FROM THE DAILY CHRONICLE.

Newcastle-on-Tyne, Monday, September 17th, 1860.

DANGER AND SAFETY .- * * The cotton of the United States affords employment to upwards of three millions of people in England, and a famine of cotton would be far worse than a famine of bread; the deficiency of the latter could be supplied; but the destruction of the cotton crop in America would be an evil of unparalleled magnitude, and against which we have no present protection. * * From the district of Lagos on the Gold coast, near the kingdom of Dahomey, there comes amongst us Dr. Delany with promises of a deeply interesting exposition of the prospects of Africa, and the probabilities of the civilization and elevation of the black races. He is a bona fide descendant of one of the families of Central Africa, a highly educated gentleman, whose presence at the International Statistical Congress was noticed by Lord Brougham, and whose remarks in the sanitary section of the Congress upon epidemics were characterized by a great knowledge of the topic combined with genuine modesty. He is a physician of African blood, educated in America, who has revisited the lands of his ancestry, and proposes a most reasonable and feasible plan to destroy the slave trade, by creating a cordon, or fringe of native civilization, through which the kidnappers could not penetrate from without, and through which no slaves could be transported from within. Dr. Delany is one of the Commissioners sent out by the convention of the colored people of Canada and the United States. He has recently returned from the Yoruba country, adjoining the territory of the King of Dahomey, and desires to elicit a favorable consideration for the African Aid Society. His explorations have been productive of the most promising results, his fellow-blacks having everywhere received him with distinguished honors. His anecdotes are interesting, and his lectures are illustrated by specimens of native produce and manufactures highly curious. Of his lectures at Brighton and other places we have read lengthy reports, which represent the influence these addresses have produced, and which speak in eulogistic terms of Dr. Delany's matter and manner. The subject is one of vast importance to England, and we trust that we may witness ere long a proper appreciation of it.

FROM THE GLASGOW HERALD.

All this betokens a considerable degree of intelligence. The towns had their market-places; in one of these, that of Ijaye, Dr. Delany saw many thousands of persons assembled, and carrying on a busy traffic. What a field might thus, in the course of time, be opened for Européan commerce.

FROM THE LEEDS MERCURY (ENGLAND.)

Published by E. Baines, Esq., M.P., and Sons, December 8th, 1860.

ELEVATION OF THE COLORED RACE, AND OPENING OUT OF THE RESOURCES OF AFRICA.—An important movement for opening out the resources of a vast portion of the continent of Africa has been made by some of the most intelligent colored

people of the United States and Canada. Having formed a society with this object in view, among others, Dr. Delany, and Professor Campbell were commissioned to go out and explore a considerable portion of Western Africa, near to the mouths of the Niger, and not far from the equator. A report of this expedition is in progress by Dr. Delany, who is himself so fully convinced of the advantages which the rich resources of that part of Africa offer, that he has concluded to remove his family there immediately. A meeting of the Leeds Anti-Slavery Committee was held on Wednesday night, Wm. Scholefield, Esq., in the chair, when valuable information was communicated by Dr. Delany and William Howard Day, Esq., M.A., from Canada, who is connected with this movement. The following summary of their remarks

will be found of deep interest :-

Wm. Howard Day, M.A., having been called upon, pointed out the necessity for an active anti-slavery organization in this country, as was so well expressed by the Chairman, to keep the heart of the English people warm upon the subject of human bondage. * * By the production of cotton slavery began to be a power. So that as the cotton interest increased the testimony of the Church decreased. Cotton now is three-fifths of the production of the South. So that the Hon. Amasa Walker, formerly Republican Secretary of State for the State of Massachusetts, at the meeting held in London, August 1, 1859, and presided over by Lord Brougham, really expressed the whole truth when he said—"While cotton is fourteen cents per pound slavery will never end." Now we propose to break the back of this, monopoly in America by raising in Africa-in the African's own homeas well as in the West Indies, cotton of the same quality as the American, and at a cheaper rate. It had been demonstrated by Mr. Clegg, of Manchester, that cotton of superior quality could be laid down at Liverpool cheaper from Africa than America. We have sent my friend, Dr. Delany, to see what Africa is, and he will tell you the results—so very favorable—of his exploration. Then we feel that we have in Canada the colored men to pioneer the way-men reared among the cotton of the United States, and who have found an asylum among us. The bone and sinew is in Africa -- we wish to give it direction. We wish thereby to save to England millions of pounds by the difference in price between the two cottons; we wish to ward off the blow to England which must be felt by four millions of people interested in the article to be produced if an untimely frost or an insurrection should take placeand, above all, to lift up Africa by means of her own children. After speaking of the organization among the colored people, which sent out Dr. Delany, and of which Mr. Day is president, he said one of the means to secure these ends was the establishment of a press upon a proper footing in Canada among the fugitive slaves; and to collect for that is now his especial work. It would aid powerfully, it was hoped, in another way. Already American prejudice has rolled in upon the borders of Canada -- so that school-house doors are closed in the faces of colored children, and colored men denied a place upon juries merely because of their color. It was with difficulty that last year even in Canada they were able to secure the freedom of a kidnapped little boy who was being dragged through the province to be sold in the slave-mart of St. Louis. In view of all these points, hastily presented, he asked the good will and active aid of all the friends of liberty.

Dr. M. R. Delany, whose name has become so celebrated in connection with the Statistical Congress, was invited to state what he had contemplated in going to Africa, and if he would kindly do so, what he had discovered there. Dr. Delany first dwelt upon the expectation which had been raised in his mind when a young man, and in the minds of the colored people of the United States, by the beginning of the anti-slavery work there by William Lloyd Garrison and his coadjutors. They had found, however, that all the anti-slavery people were not of the stamp of Mr. Garrison, who, he was proud to say, believed in giving to colored men just the same rights and privileges as to others, and that Mr. Garrison's idea had not, by the professed friends of the black man, been reduced to practice. And finding that selfreliance was the best dependence, he and others had struck out a path for themselves. After speaking of the convention of colored people, which he and others called in 1854, to consider this subject of self-help, and of the general organization which began then, and in which Mr. Day succeeded him as president, he said he went to Africa to find a locality suitable for a select emigration of colored people; if possible, a large cotton-growing region, and with a situation accessible by civilization. All this he had found, with, in addition, a well-disposed and industrious people.

The facts which Dr. Delany grouped together as to the climate and soil; as to productions and trade; as to the readiness of the people to take hold of these higher ideas; and as to the anxiety of the people to have him and his party return, were new and thrilling. An interesting conversation ensued on the points brought forward, and the following minute, moved by Mr. Wilson Armistead, and seconded by the Rev. Dr. Brewer, was unanimously passed :-

"That the thanks of this meeting be tendered to Dr. Delany and Wm. Howard Day, Esq., for the valuable information received from them, with an ardent desire that their plans for the elevation of their race may be crowned with success, and it is the opinion of this meeting that they may be made materially to hasten the extinction of the alave-trade and slavery."

The commercial relations entered into in Scotland are with Character of the first business men in the United Kingdom, among whom Commercial are Henry Dunlop, Esq., Ex-Lord Provost of Glasgow, one of the largest proprietors in Scotland; Andrew Stevenson, Esq, one of the greatest cotton dealers; and Messrs. Crum, Graham & Co., 111 Virginia Place, Glasgow, one of the heaviest firms in that part of the old world, which is the house with which I have negotiated for an immediate, active and practical prosecution of our enterprise, and whose agency in Europe for any or all of our produce, may be fully relied on. I speak from personal acquaintance with these extensively-known, high-standing gentlemen.

One of the most important parts of such an adventure as Reliable Arthis, is to have reliable Foreign Agencies, and these have been fully secured; as whilst these gentlemen, as should all business men, deal with us only on business terms, yet they have entered into the matter as much as Christians and philanthropists, to see truth and right prevail whereby humanity may be elevated, as for anything else; because they are already wealthy, and had they been seeking after wealth, they certainly could and would have sought some more certainly immediate means.

I left Scotland December 3d, and sailed from Liverpool the 13th via Londonderry, arriving at Portland the 25th, the epoch of the Christian

Era, and in Chatham the 29th.

SECTION XVI.

THE TIME TO GO TO AFRICA.

The best time for going to Africa is during "the rainy against danger. season," which commences about the middle or last of April, ending near or about the first of November. By going during this period, it will be observed that you have no sudden transition from cold to heat, as would be the case did you leave in cold weather for that country. But the most favorable time to avoid the heavy surf at Lagos, is from the first of October to the first of April, when the surges in the rollistead are comparatively small and not imminently dangerous. And I here advise and caution all persons intending to land there, not to venture over the heavy-rolling surf of the bar in one of those native canoes."

Yet persons can land with safety at any season of the year; safety in but for this there must be a proper boat. Any person going Landing. there at present ought not to land if the surf is high, without

Captain Davies' large sail-boat, which is as safe as a tug, and rides the sea like a swan. Send him word to send his largest boat at the best hour for landing. The Captain is a native merchant, and most obliging gentleman.

So soon as we get a Tender (called in America, steam-tug A Tender. and tow-boat), which will be one of the first things done so soon as we get to Lagos, landing will be as safe at any and all times there as in the harbor at New York or Liverpool. For the information of many intelligent persons who are not aware of it, I would state that a pilot or tender has to take vessels into both of these great seaports on account of shoal water.*

The rainy season usually thought by foreigners to be "wet, Rainy Season. muddy, and disagreeable weather," so far from this, is the most agreeable season of the year. Instead of steady rains for several days incessantly, as is common during "rainy weather" in the temperate zones, there is seldom or never rain during a whole day. But every day to a certainty during this season it rains, sometimes by showers at intervals, and sometimes a heavy rain for one, two, or three hours at a time—but seldom so long as three hours—when it clears up beautifully, leaving an almost cloudless sky. The rains usually come up very suddenly, and as quickly cease when done.

There is seldom or never such a thing in this part of Africa Drizzling rain, as a "drizzling" or mizzling rain, all suddenly coming on and sudden showers as suddenly passing off; and should one be out and see indications of an approaching rain, they must hurry to a near shelter, so sud-

denly does the shower come on.

Tornadoes are sudden gusts or violent storms of wind and rain, which are more or less feared, but which may always be known from other storms on their approach, by the blackness of the clouds above, with the segment of a circle of lighter cloud just beneath the dark, and above the horizon.

The entire wet season may be justly termed the summer summer instead of "winter," as the old writers have it; though it is observable that at the commencement of Spring in the temperate zones

(March) vegetation starts forth in Africa with renewed vigor.

Winter is during the dry season, and not the "wet," for the above reason; and it is also worthy of remark, that during autumn in the temperate zone (from October to the last of November) the foliage in Airica begins to fade and fall from the trees in large quantities.

It is during this season that the harmattans prevail, (from two to three weeks in December) which consist of a dry cold and not a "dry hot" wind as we have been taught; when furniture and wooden ware dries and cracks for want of moisture, and the thermometer frequently rates as low as 54 deg. Fahr. in the evening and early in the morning; when blankets on the bed will not be out of place, and an evening and morning fire may add to your comfort.

^{*} I have received information from London, that an iron steam Tender has already been sent out to Lagos by an English house.

SECTION XVII.

CONCLUDING SUGGESTIONS.

Native mariners.

It may not be generally known as a fact, which is of no little importance in the industrial economy of Africa, that vessels of every class, of all foreign nations, are manned and

managed by native Africans, so soon as they enter African waters.

The Krumen are the watermen or marines generally of Africa, going in companies of greater or less numbers, with one in the lead called "headman," who, hiring all the others, makes contracts with a vessel, which is met outside of the roadsteads or harbors, to supply a certain number of men to manage it during her coasting voyage. They usually bring with them the recommendations of all the commanders whose vessels they have managed on the coast. These are generally carried in the hat to prevent getting wet, and sometimes in calabashes, stopped up like a bottle, or in a tin can or case, (when such can be obtained,) suspended by a string like a great square medal around the neck.

So expert have these people become in marine affairs, that, with the exception of navigation, a vessel at sea might be managed entirely by many of those companies of Krumen. Everything that is to be done as the common work of seamen, is done by them during their engagement on the coasting vessels. The agility with which they scale the shrouds and rigging, mounting frequently to the very pinnacle of the main-mast head, or going out to the extreme end of the yard arms, is truly surprising. In

these feats, they are far more dextrous than the white civilians.

The Fever—stages of.

The Fever—stages of.

The cases of real intermittent fever—fever and ague or chills and fever—there are usually three distinct stages when the attack comes on—on what is usually termed fever day: the cold or shivering stage, the hot or burning stage, suc-

ceeded by the sweating.

So soon as there are symptoms of a chill, a cup of quite hot ginger or cinnamon tea—not too strong—may be taken, the person keeping out of the sun, and, if inclined, going to bed and covering warmly. He should always undress, putting on a night-shirt or gown, for the convenience of changing when required. A hot cup of tea, of any kind, is better than nothing, when neither cinnamon nor ginger is convenient.

During the hot stage, the person must be kept as cool as possible, and when the fever is at its fleight—and, indeed, it is well to commence long before this—the entire person, from head to foot, should be continually bathed by a free application of cold water, used plentifully and frequently changed during the application, with a large sponge, napkin, or cloth of some kind.

An excellent addition to the water is the juice of limes or lemons, and less of the first (lime) than the last is required,

because of the superior strength of the one to the other.

Soda may also be used in the bath as an adjuvant to the water—not with the lime juice, of course, because they would

effervesce or disagree. When lime or lemon juice is used, care should be taken, in the use of it, that it be not too strong: say, use two lemons, or

one and a half limes if large, to a pail of water—as it will produce irritation on all of the tender parts of the person, and even over the general surface. A lime bath once or twice a week, in the absence of all fever, is said to be an excellent hygeian or prophylactic treatment. But, by all means, don't neglect the cold water application during the hot stage.

So soon as the sweating commences, the patient must have sufficient covering to prevent taking cold, which is then very stage. readily done, in consequence of the general relaxation of the system and open state of the pores. When the sweating ceases, the shirt or gown must be immediately taken off, the entire person sponged off in clear lukewarm or air-cold water, fresh clean clothes put on, the sheets and wet bed-clothes removed by clean ones supplying their places; and in no case must a person ever be permitted to keep on the same clothes after the sweating stage, as the virus or fever-poison is expelled through the medium of the sweat and pores, and consequently absorbed by the clothing. The clothes should be changed every day, whether there be perspiration or not.

Either of these symptoms is to be treated as advised, inde-

pendently of the other in the order of arrangement.

Persons should be careful not to sleep in sweaty clothes, especially those in which they have traveled; and they should be cautious not to sleep in the same clothes worn on any day, as before but slightly alluded to. Clean, unsoiled night-clothes should be put on every evening, and those which may be worn again should be well aired and sunned during the day.

The Colonization Society has committed a great error in its philanthropic arrangements of providing for six months' passiveness after going to Africa. The provisions, for those philanthropy. who require them, I do not object to, but the passiveness is fatally injurious.

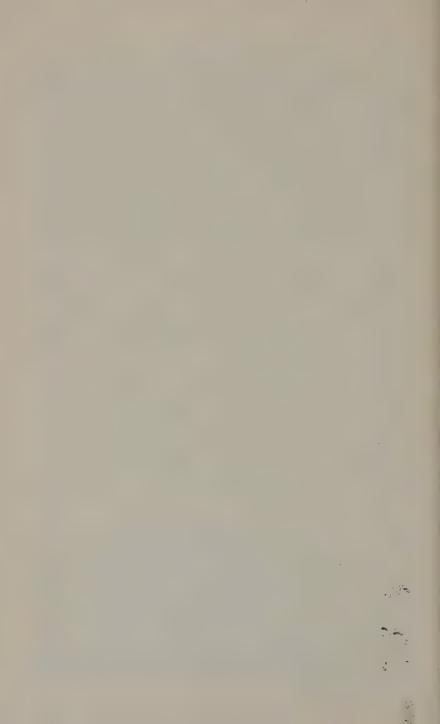
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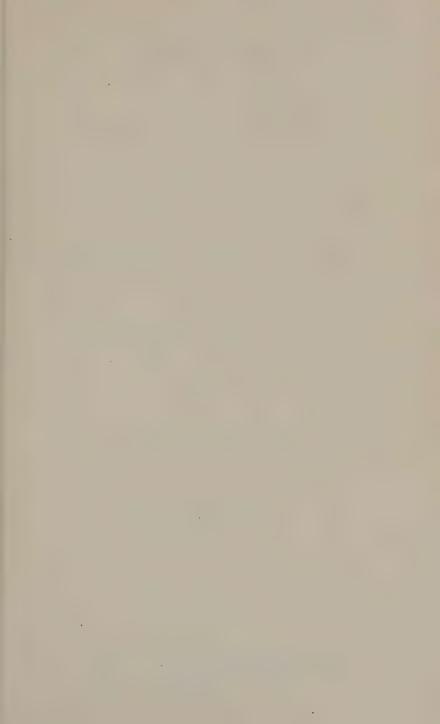
Instead of going to Africa and quietly sitting down in utter idleness, in anticipation waiting in anxious expectation for the fever to come—in which cases the person becomes much more susceptible—did they go directly about some active employment, to keep

both mind and body properly exercised, I am certain that there would not be one-fourth of the mortality that there is even now, which is compara-

tively little. This will account for the reason that, among the numerous

travelers and explorers who visit such countries, there is so much less, nay, so seldom any mortality from disease, compared with the missionaries, whose lives are rather easy and inactive, except the really energetic ones, who generally are they who survive. And I have the testimony of my friends Professor Crummell of Liberia College, late of Mount Vaughn High School, a most industrious, persevering gentleman, and W. Spencer Anderson, Esq., the largest sugar and coffee grower in Liberia, also a most energetic industrious gentlemen—who corroborate my opinion on this important subject. Indeed, the people generally seem to have been long conscious of this fact, since among them they have an adage: "The more work, the less fever." But no one should infer that it meant that they should exercise without regard to care and judgment, with all the precautions and observations on health laid down in the preceding pages.







A TREATISE

ON THE

INTELLECTUAL CHARACTER,

AND

CIVIL AND POLITICAL CONDITION

OF THE

COLORED PEOPLE OF THE U. STATES;

AND THE

PREJUDICE EXERCISED TOWARDS THEM:

WITH A SERMON

ON THE

DUTY OF THE CHURCH TO THEM.

BY REV. H. EASTON, A COLORED MAN.

BOSTON:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY ISAAC KNAPP.

1837.

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REV. HOSEA EASTON AND THE ROOTS OF PREJUDICE 1837

A bibliographical note by Maxwell Whiteman

An unprecedented turning point in the literature of black people was clearly evident in the eighteen-thirties and forties. All of the major cities of the North found black men speaking and writing with a zeal and passion that had no counterpart up to that time. The seeds were sown for a convention movement that brought together people of color in a common goal and the first attempts at self-identity, however meagre, were made by the discovery of an African past. Forceful condemnations of slavery were increasing in number and the fugitives' narrative was making its impact on the American mind while the harpoons of prejudice against free blacks could not be averted by the most adroit of men. A procession of books and pamphlets intruded upon the American literary scene that was otherwise calm. What black people wanted, what they thought and what they had begun to demand should have been clear to any literate American. A new force was released, a force that could no longer be stemmed or repressed. If there was doubt about the status of free blacks, there was no doubt about their right to transform into print the agonizing quest for justice and freedom. Black people had undertaken to travel along the broad avenue which a free press had made possible.

From the time that David Walker had published the last edition of his volatile Appeal in 1830 to the appearance of Frederick Douglass' Narrative in 1845, the forward course of black protest was determined. In 1837, the year Easton's Treatise made its bow, Samuel E. Cornish launched the New York journal, the Colored American; the Life of Jim Crow appeared in Philadelphia; Moses Roper's Narrative was published in London and James Williams was displaying the grandeur of his imagination in a fictitious slave experience to John Greenleaf Whittier, and the poems of the North Carolinian black, George Moses Horton, were reprinted in Philadelphia. Of the extensive literature that appeared in 1837, the least remembered and most neglected was Hosea Easton's bitter condemnation of prejudice against the colored people of the United States.

It was a crucial year in American history and particularly severe for the free blacks of the North. The panic of 1837 with its resultant financial disaster spread alarm throughout the nation. Whites went hungry and rioted; blacks went hungry but suffered the twin evil of deprivation and physical abuse. In Pennsylvania mobs wreaked their vengeance wherever blacks lived; in the inland cities of Ohio, anti-black prejudice turned to violence and in Massachusetts scattered riots were taking place while Easton's pamphlet was still wet from printers ink.

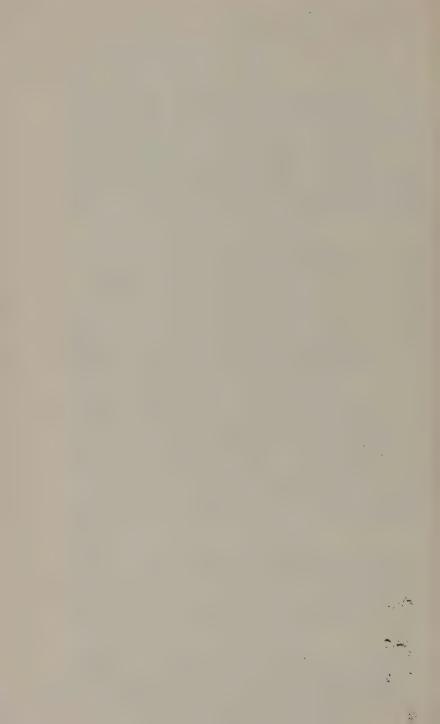
Long before Easton donned ministerial robes in Hartford, Connecticut he was involved, as he tells us in his *Treatise*, in managing a manual training school conducted by and for black people. For twenty years he and his colleagues did their utmost to maintain the school which succumbed to the wiles of prejudice. It was his work as a missionary, traveling through New York and part of New England to determine why his people were churchless, that he again realized that it was the cold hand of white Christian prejudice that excluded blacks from the house of God. But Easton's most galling experience and observation of white conduct was witnessing white children being raised to *niggerisms*, the nature of which he cuts into sharply. It was the combination of these factors and the general conditions of the time that compelled Easton to write his *Treatise*.

His attack upon prejudice follows an examination of the variations of color in nature and an historical observation of black antiquity. Easton recognized that color was superficial to the underlying cause of slavery; that "free" blacks in the North could not be free so long as blacks were held in captivity from generation to generation in the South. He countered the charges of intemperance with statements upholding the sobriety of hard working blackfolk; he queried critics of the ne'er-do-well blacks on why they failed to provide employment for those whom they criticized.

The sermon announced on the title page was not published. At the end of the fifty-four page pamphlet, Easton stated that it will appear with another work, *Lectures on Civil, Social and Moral Economy*. The *Treatise* appeared in the spring of 1837, published by Isaac Knapp the publisher of the *Liberator* from whose office the *Treatise* could be obtained.

Sources: Liberator, March 18, 1837, et.seq., states in its announcement: "This pamphlet rolls up the curtain, and introduces the reader to those colored American citizens who have

been so long despised, and almost unknown. The profits of the work will be applied to the rebuilding of a church for colored people, which was lately destroyed by fire." The impact of the Panic of 1837 upon the free blacks warrants separate investigation. A study of the Northern press of the period would be very useful. The subject of intemperance among blacks in a historical setting is discussed by John R. Larkins, Alchohol and the Negro: Explosive Issues (Zebulon, N.C., 1965).



PREFACE.

It is with diffidence that I offer this treatise to the public; but an earnest desire to contribute my mite, for the benefit of my afflicted brethren, is my only apology. The subject is one of peculiar difficulty; especially as it is one in which I am deeply interested.

To speak or write on a subject relating to one's self, is peculiarly embarrassing; and especially so, under a deep sense of injury.

As an apology for the frequent errors that may occur in the following pages, I would remark: It cannot be reasonably expected, that a literary display could adorn the production of one from whom popular sentiment has withheld almost every advantage, even of a common education.

If this work should chance to fall into the hands of any whose minds are so sordid, and whose hearts are so inflexible, as to load it, with its author, with censure on that account merely, I would only say to them, that I shall not be disposed to envy them in the enjoyment of their sentiments, while I endeavor to content myself in the enjoyment of a consciousness of having done what I could to effect the establishment of righteousness and peace in the earth.

Hartford, Ct., March, 1837.



INTRODUCTION.

I conclude that, by this time, one great truth is acknowledged by all Christendom, viz.-God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth. Or, in other words, I conclude it is a settled point with the wisest of the age, that no constitutional difference exists in the children of men, which can be said to be established by hereditary laws. If the proposition be granted, it will follow, that whatever differences exist, are casual or accidental. The variety of color, in the human species, is the result of the same laws which variegate the whole creation. The same species of flowers is variegated with innumerable colors; and yet the species is the same, possessing the same general qualities, undergoing no intrinsic change, from these accidental causes. So it is with the human species. These varieties are indispensable, for the distinction of different objects, throughout the whole range of creation.

The hair is subject to the same laws of variety with the skin, though it may be considered in a somewhat different light. Were I asked why my hair is curled, my answer would be, because God gave nature the gift of producing variety, and that gift, like uncontrolled power every where, was desirous to act like itself; and thus being influenced by some cause unknown to man, she turned out her work in the form of my hair; and on being influenced by some other cause, she turned out hair of different texture, and gave it to another man. This would be the best answer I could give; for it is impossible for man to comprehend nature or her works. She has been supplied with

an ability by her author to do wonders, insomuch that some have been foolish enough to think her to be God. All must confess she possesses a mysterious power to produce variety. We need only visit the potato and corn patch, (not a costly school,) and we shall be perfectly satisfied; for there, in the same hill, on one stalk, sprung from one potato, you may find several of different colors; and upon the same corn-stalk you may find two ears, one white or yellow, and the other deep red; and sometimes you may find an astonishing variety of colors displayed on one ear among the kernels; and what makes the observation more delightful, they are never found quarrelling about their color, though some have shades of extreme beauty. If you go to the field of grass, you will find that all grass is the same grass in variety; go to the herds and flocks, and among the feathered tribe, or view nature where you will, she tells us all that we can know, why it is that one man's head bears woolly, and another flaxen hair.

But when we come to talk about intellectual differences, we are brought into a new field of investigation. I call it a new or another field, because I cannot believe that nature has any thing to do in variegating intellect, any more than it has power over the soul. Mind can act on matter, but matter cannot act upon mind; hence it fills an entirely different sphere; therefore, we must look for a cause of difference of intellect elsewhere, for it cannot be found in nature. In looking for a cause, we have no right to go above nor below the sphere which the mind occupies; we cannot rationally conceive the cause to originate with God, nor in matter. Nature never goes out of her own limits to produce her works; all of which are perfect so far as she is concerned, and most assuredly God's works are perfect; hence, whatever imperfections there are in the mind, must have originated within its own sphere. But the question is, what is the cause and the manner it affects? Originally there was no difference of intellect, either constitutional or casual. Man was perfect, and therefore to him there was no exception. After he fell, we immediately find a difference of mind. In Abel we find characteristics of a noble soul, a prolific mind; his understanding appears to have been but very little, if any, impaired by the fall. But in Cain we find quite the reverse. His mind appears to have been narrow—his understanding dark—having wrapped himself up in a covetous mantle as contemptible as his conduct was wicked.

Now I see no reason why the causes of difference do not exist in the fall—in the act of transgression; for certain it is that the mind has since been subject to the influence of every species of evil, which must be a secondary cause to the existing effect. Or the subject may be viewed in the following light, viz.: evil and good exist in the world, and as the mind is influenced by the one or the other, so is the different effect produced thereby.

There is no truth more palpable than this, that the mind is capable of high cultivation; and that the degree of culture depends entirely on the means or agents employed to that end. In a country, therefore, where public sentiment is formed in favor of improving the mind, whatever the object may be, whether to promote good or evil, the mind is influenced thereby. The practical exercise of the mind is essential also to improvement and growth, and is directed likewise by public sentiment.

Public sentiment is founded on the real or imaginary interests of parties, whose individual interests are identified one with another. Public sentiment itself is directed in the exercise of its influence, by incidental circumstances, either local or foreign. In this current the mind is borne along, and at the instance of every change of event, is called to a new exercise of thought, conclusions, purposes, &c.; whereas, had it not been for the change, there would have been no action produced in the mind: for it is manifest, that the sphere which mankind are destined to fill, is surrounded with a great variety of acting laws, which, were it not for such causes, would make their minds entirely passive; but, under the influence of those causes, they are made to act not from constraint, but in accordance with an innate desire to avail themselves of collateral aid to their operations. It is manifest, therefore, that the more varying or complex the state of a people is incidentally rendered, the more power there is extant to call up renewed energies of the mind, the direct

tendency of which is to confirm and strengthen it. Hence I deem it a fair conclusion, that whatever differences there are in the power of the intellect of nations, they are owing to the difference existing in the casual laws by which they are influenced. By consulting the history of nations, it may be seen that their genius perfectly accords with their habits of life, and the general maxims of their country; and that these habits and maxims possess a sameness of character with the incidental circumstances in which they originated.

As the intellect of a particular class will be in part the subject of this treatise, I wish in this place to follow the investigation of national difference of intellect, with its cause, by comparing the history of Europe and Africa.

Ham was the son of Noah, and founder of the African race, and progenitor to Assur, who probably founded the first government after the flood. It is evident from the best authority extant, that the arts and sciences flourished among this branch of the great family of man, long before its benefits were known to any other. History is explicit with regard to their hospitality also. At an early period of the existence of the government of Egypt, and while Chederlaomer, king of the Elamites, had already commenced the practice of robbery and bloodshed, Abraham was obliged by a famine to leave Canaan, where God had commanded him to settle, and to go into Egypt. 'This journey,' says a historian, 'gives occasion for Moses to mention some particulars with regard to the Egyptians; and every stroke discovers the character of an improved and powerful nation. The Egyptian monarch, and the grandeur of his court, are described in the most glowing colors ;-and Ham, who led the colony into Egypt, has become the founder of a mighty empire. We are not, however, to imagine, that all the laws which took place in Egypt, and which have been so justly admired for their wisdom, were the work of this early age. Diodorus Siculus, a Greek writer, mentions many successive princes, who labored for their establishment and perfection. But in the time of Jacob; first principles of civil government seem to have been tolerably understood among the Egyptians. The country was divided into several districts or separate departments; councils, composed of experienced and select persons, were established for the management of public affairs; granaries for preserving corn were erected; and, in fine, the Egyptians in this age enjoyed a commerce far from inconsiderable. These facts, though of an ancient date, deserve our particular attention. It is from the Egyptians, that many of the arts, both of elegance and ability, have been handed down in an uninterrupted chain, to modern nations of Europe. The Egyptians communicated their arts to the Greeks; the Greeks taught the Romans many improvements, both in the arts of peace and war; and to the Romans, the present inhabitants of Europe are indebted for their civility and refinement.

This noble people were not content with the enjoyment of luxury and ease, to the exclusion of their neighbors. At an early period they are found carrying the blessings of civilization into Greece; and, although repulsed in their first attempt by the rude barbarity of the Greeks, yet their philanthropy soon inspired them to resume the enterprise, which resulted in the settlement of two colonies, one in Argos, and the other in Attica. The founders of these colonies succeeded in their endeavors to unite the wandering Greeks, which laid a foundation for the instructions they afterwards gave them. Sesostris, a prince of wonderful ability, is supposed to mount the throne of Egypt about 2341 years before Christ. Egypt in his time, it is said, was in all probability the most powerful kingdom upon earth, and according to the best calculation, is supposed to contain twenty-seven millions of inhabitants. From the reign of Sesostris to that of Boccharis, a term of near 800 years, but little is known of the princes who reigned, but it is believed from collateral evidence, that the country in that time continued in a very flourishing condition, and for aught that is known, enjoyed uninterrupted peace. Wars and commotions, (says an eminent writer,) are the greatest themes of the historian, while the gentle and happy reign of a wise prince passes unobserved and unrecorded. During this period of quietude at home, Egypt continued to pour forth her colonies into distant nations. Athens, that seat of learning and politeness, that school for all who aspired after wisdom, owes its foundation to Cecrops, who landed in Greece, with an Egyptian colony, before Christ 1585. The institutions which he established among the Athenians gave rise to the spread of the morals, arts and sciences in Greece, which have since shed their lustre upon Rome, Europe, and America.

From the reign of Boccharis to the dissolution of their government, the Egyptians are celebrated for the wisdom of their laws and political institutions, which were dictated by the true spirit of civil wisdom. It appears that this race of people, during their greatest prosperity, made but very little proficiency in the art of war. We hear of but little of their conquests of armies, which is an evidence of their being an unwarlike people.

On taking a slight view of the history of Europe, we find a striking contrast. Javan, the third from Noah, and son of Japhet, is the stock from whom all the people known by the name of Greeks are descended. Javan established himself in the islands on the Western coast of Asia Minor. It is supposed, and it may not be impossible, that a few wanderers would escape over into Europe. Who would believe, says a writer, that the Greeks, who in latter ages became the patterns of politeness and every elegant art, were descended from a savage race of men, traversing the woods and wilds, inhabiting the rocks and caverns, a wretched prey to wild beasts and to one another. I would here remark that it is a little singular that modern philosophers, the descendants of this race of savages, should claim for their race a superiority of intellect over those who, at that very time, were enjoying all the real benefits of civilized life.

The remnant of this race which found their way to Europe from Asia Minor, are brought into notice but very little until after Rome had conquered the world. On the decline of that empire, from the death of Theodosius the great, A. D. 395 to A. D. 571, all Europe exhibited a picture of most melancholy Gothic barbarity. Literature, science, taste, were words scarce in use from this period to the sixteenth century. Persons of the highest rank could not read or write. Many of the clergy

did not understand the learning which they were obliged daily to write; some of them could scarce read it.

The Goths and Vandals, and other fierce tribes, who were scattered over the vast countries of the North of Europe and Northwest of Asia, were drawn from their homes by a thirst for blood and plunder. Great bodies of armed men, with their wives and children, issued forth like regular colonies in quest of new settlements. New adventurers followed them. The lands which they deserted were occupied by more remote tribes of barbarians. These in their turn, pushed into more fertile countries, and like a torrent continually increasing, rolled on, and swept every thing before them.

Wherever the barbarians marched, their route was marked with blood. They ravaged or destroyed all around them. They made no distinction between what was sacred and what was profane. They respected no age, or sex, or rank. If man was called upon, (says an eminent historian,) to fix upon the period in the history of the world, during which the condition of the human race was most calamitious and afflicted, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from A. D. 395 to 511. Cotemporary authors, who beheld that scene of destruction, labor and are at a loss for expressions to describe the horror of it. The scourge of God, the destroyer of nations, are the dreadful epithets by which they distinguish the most noted of the barbarous leaders.

Towards the close of the sixth century, the Saxons or Germans were masters of the Southern and more fertile provinces of Britain: the Franks, another tribe of Germans; the Goths of Spain; the Goths and Lombards of Italy, and the adjacent provinces.

During the period above mentioned, European slavery was introduced. Having, as yet, the art of navigation but very imperfectly, it seemed to be the whole bent of their mind to enslave each other.

A form of government, distinguished by the name of the Feudal system, was one under which the leaders of these barbarians became intolerable. They reduced the great body of

them to actual scrvitude. They were slaves fixed to the soil, and with it transferred from one proprietor to another, by sale, or by conveyance. The kindred and dependants of an aggressor, as well as of a defender, were involved in a quarrel, without even the liberty of remaining neuter, whenever their superiors saw fit.

The king or general to whom they belonged, would lead them on to conquest, parcel out the land of the vanquished among his chief officers, binding those on whom they were bestowed, to follow his standard with a number of men, and to bear arms in his defence. The chief officers imitated the example of their sovereign, and in distributing portions of their lands among their dependents, annexed the same conditions to the grant.

For the smallest pretext they would make war with one another, and lead their slaves on to conquest; and take the land and goods of their foes as the reward of their enterprise. This system existed in the highlands in Scotland, as late as the year 1156.

It is not a little remarkable, that in the nineteenth century a remnant of this same barbarous people should boast of their national superiority of intellect, and of wisdom and religion; who, in the seventeenth century, crossed the Atlantic and practised the same crime their barbarous ancestry had done in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries: bringing with them the same boasted spirit of enterprise; and not unlike their fathers, staining their route with blood, as they have rolled along, as a cloud of locusts, towards the West. The late unholy war with the Indians, and the wicked crusade against the peace of Mexico, are striking illustrations of the nobleness of this race of people, and the powers of their mind. I will here take a brief review of the events following each race from their beginning.

Before Christ 2188, Mismim, the son of Ham, founded the kingdom of Egypt, which lasted 1633 years.

2059, Ninus, the son of Belus, another branch of Ham's sfamily, founds the kingdom of Assyria, which lasted 1000 years, and out of its ruins Babylon. Ninevah, and the kingdom of the Medes

1822, Memnon, the Egyptian, invents the letters.

1571, Moses born in Egypt, and adopted by Pharaoh's daughter, who educated him in all the learning of the Egyptians.

1556, Cecrops brings a colony from Egypt into Attica, and begins the kingdom of Athens, in Greece.

1485, The first ship that appeared in Greece was brought from Egypt by Danaus, who arrived at Rhodes, and brought with him his fifty daughters.

869, The city of Carthage, in Africa, founded by queen Dido.

604, By order of Necho, king of Egypt, some Phenicians, sailed from the Red Sea round Africa, and returned by the Mediterranean.

600, Thales, of Miletus, travels to Egypt, to acquire the knowledge of geometry, astronomy, and philosophy; returns to Greece and calculates eclipses, gives general notions of the universe, &c.

285, Dionysius, of Alexandria, began his astronomical era, on Monday, June 26, being the first who found the exact solar year to consist of 365 days, 5 hours, and 49 minutes.

284, Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, employs seventytwo interpreters to translate the Old Testament into the Greek language, which was called the Septuagint.

237, Hamilcar, the Carthagenian, causes his son Hannibal, at nine years of age, to swear eternal enmity to the Romans.

218, Hannibal passes the Alps, at the age of 28 years, and defeats the Romans in several battles.

47, The Alexandrian library, consisting of 400,000 valuable books burned by accident.

30, Alexandria is taken by Octavius, upon which Mark Antony and Cleopatra, put themselves to death, and Egypt is reduced to a Roman province.

640, A. D., Alexandria is taken by the Saracens, or followers of Mahomet, and the grand library burned by order of Omar, their caliph or prince.

991, The figures in arithmetic are brought into Europe by the Saracens from Arabia: [Poor negroes, I wonder where they

got learning. These are the race of people who are charged with an inferiority of intellect.]

Africa could once boast of several states of eminence, among which are Egypt, Ethiopia, and Carthage; the latter supported an extensive commerce, which was extended to every part of the then known world. Her fleets even visited the British shores, and was every where prosperous, until she was visited with the scourge of war, which opened the way for those nations whose life depended on plunder. The Romans have the honor, by the assistance of the Mauritonians, of subduing Carthage; after which the North of Africa was overrun by the Vandals, who, in their march destroyed all arts and sciences; and, to add to the calamity of this quarter of the world, the Saracens made a sudden conquest of all the coasts of Egypt and Barbary, in the seventh century. And these were succeeded by the Turks, both being of the Mahomedan religion, whose professors carried desolation wherever they went; and thus the ruin of that once flourishing part of the world was completed. Since that period, Africa has been robbed of her riches and honor, and sons and daughters, to glut the rapacity of the great minds of European bigots.

The following is a short chronological view of the events following the rise of the Europeans.

- A. D. 49, London is founded by the Romans.
- 51, Caractacus, the British king is carried in chains to Rome.
- 59, Nero persecutes the Druids in Britain.
- 61, The British queen defeats the Romans, but is conquered soon after by Suetonius, governor of Britain.
 - 63, Christianity introduced into Britain.
- 85, Julius Agricola, governor of South Britain, to protect the civilized Britons from the incursions of the Caledonians, builds a line of forts between the rivers Forth and Clyde; defeats the Caledonians; and first sails round Britain, which he discovers to be an island.
- 222, About this time the barbarians begin their eruptions and the Goths have annual tribute not to molest the Roman government.

- 274, The art of manufacturing silk first introduced into Britain from India; the manufacturing of it introduced into Europe by some monks, 551.
- 404, The kingdom of Caledonia, or Scotland, revives under Fergus.
- 406, The Vandals, Alans, and Suevi spread in France and Spain, by a concession of Honorius, emperor of the West.
 - 410, Rome taken and plundered by Alaric, king of visi-Goths.
 - 412, The Vandals begin their kingdom in Spain.
- 446, The Romans having left the Britons to themselves, are greatly harassed by the Scots and Picts, they make their complaints to Rome again, which they entitle, the grouns of the Britons.
 - 449, The Saxons join the Britons against the Scots and Picts.
- 455, Saxons having repulsed the Scots and Picts begin to establish themselves in Kent under Hengist.
- 476, Several new states arise in Italy and other parts, consisting of Goths, Vandals, Huns, and other barbarians, under whom literature is extinguished, and the works of the learned are destroyed.
- 496, Clovis, king of France, baptized, and christianity begins in that kingdom.
 - 508, Prince Arthur begins his reign over the Britons.
- 609, Here begins the power of the Pope by the concession of Phocas, emperor of the east.
- 685, The Britons, after a struggle of near 150 years, are totally expelled by the Saxons, and drove into Wales and Cornwall.
 - 712, The Saracens conquer Spain.
- 726, The controversy about images occasions many insurrections.
- 800, Charlemagne, king of France, begins the empire of Germany, and endeavors to restore learning.
- 838, The Scots and Picts have a hard fight. The former prevail.
 - 867, The Danes begin their ravages in England.
 - 896, Alfred the Great fought 56 battles with the invading

Danes, after which he divides his kingdom into counties, hundreds, tythings; erects courts: and founds the University of Oxford.

936, The Saracen empire is divided into seven kingdoms, by

usurpation.

1015, Children forbidden by law to be sold by their parents, in England.

1017, Canute, king of Denmark, gets possession of England.

1040, The Danes after much hard fighting are driven out of Scotland.

1041, The Saxon line restored under Edward.

1043, The Turks who had hitherto fought for other nations, have become formidable, and take possession of Persia.

1059, Malcolm III. king of Scotland, kills Macbeth, and marries the princess Margaret.

1065, The Turks take Jerusalem.

1066, The conquest of England by William; who

1070, introduced the feudal law.

1075, Henry IV, emperor of Germany, and the Pope, have a quarrel. Henry, in penance walks barefoot in January.

1096, The first crusade to the Holy Land is begun, under several Christian princes, to drive the infidels from Jerusalem.

1118, The order of knight templars instituted.

1172, Henry II, king of England, takes possession of Ireland.

1182, Pope Alexander III, compels the kings of France and England, to hold the stirrups of his saddle when he mounted his horse.

1192, Richard, king of England, defeats Saladin's army, consisting of 300,000 combatants.

1200, Chimnies not known in England.

1227, The Tartars emerge from the Northern part of Asia, and in imitation of former conquerers, carry death and desolation wherever they march. They overrun all the Saracen empire.

1233, The inquisition began in 1204, is now in the hands of the Dominicans.

1258, The Tartars take Bagdad, which finishes the empire of the Saracens.

1263, Acho, king of Norway, invades Scotland with 160 sail, and lands 20,000 men at the mouth of the Clyde, who were cut to pieces by Alexander III.

1273, The empire of the present Austrian family begins in Germany.

1282, Lewellyn, prince of Wales, defeated and killed by Edward I., who unites that principality to England.

1314, Battle between Edward II, and Robert Bruce, which establishes the latter on the throne of Scotland.

1340, Gunpowder and guns first invented by Swartz. 1346, Bombs and four pieces of cannon were made, by which Edward III. gained the battle of Cressy.

1346, The battle of Durham, in which David, king of Scots, is taken prisoner.

1356, The battle of Poictiers, in which king John of France and his son are taken prisoners by Edward, the black prince.

1362, John Wickliffe calls in question the doctrines of the church of Rome, whose followers are called Lollards.

1388, The battle of Otterburn between Hotspur and the Earl of Douglas.

1415, Battle gained over the French by Henry V. of England.

1428, The siege of Orleans.

1453, Constantinople taken by the Turks.

1483, Civil war ended between the house of York and Lancaster, after a siege of 30 years, and the loss of 100,000 men.

1489, Maps and sea charts first brought to England.

1492, America first discovered by Columbus.

1494, Algebra first known in Europe.

1497, South America first discovered.

1499, North America by Cabot.

1517, Martin Luther begins the reformation.

1616, The first permanent settlement in Virginia.

1621, New England planted by the Puritans.

1635, Province of Maryland planted by Lord Baltimore.

1640, The massacre in Ireland, when 40,000 English protestants are killed.

1649, Charles I. beheaded.

1664, The New Netherlands in North America, taken from the Swedes and Dutch by the English.

1667, The peace of Breda, which confirms to the English the New Netherlands, now known by names of Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey.

The object I have in introducing this account of events, attendant on the rise and progress of the African and European nations, is, that the traits of their national character may at a glance be discovered; by which the reader may the better judge of the superiority of the descendants of Japhet over those of Ham. In the first place, the European branch of Japhet's family have but very little claims to the rank of civilized nations. From the fourth up to the sixteenth century, they were in the deepest state of heathenish barbarity. A continual scene of bloodshed and robbery was attendant on the increase of their numbers. Their spread over different countries caused almost an entire extinction of all civil and religious governments, and of the liberal arts and sciences. And even since that period, all Europe and America have been little else than one great universal battle field.

It is true, there is a great advance in the arts and sciences from where they once were; but whether they are any where near its standard, as they once existed in Africa, is a matter of strong doubt. We should without doubt, had not the Europeans destroyed every vestige of history, which fell in their barbarous march, been favored with an extensive and minute history of the now unknown parts of Africa. Certain it is, however, that whatever they may have contributed of knowledge to the world, it is owing to these casual circumstances we have mentioned, rather than any thing peculiar to them as a people.

Any one who has the least conception of true greatness, on comparing the two races by means of what history we have, must decide in favor of the descendants of Ham. The Egyptians alone have done more to cultivate such improvements as comports to the happiness of mankind, than all the descendants of Japhet put together. Their enterprise in establishing colo-

nies and governments among their barbarous neighbors, and supplying their wants from their granaries, instead of taking the advantage of their ignorance, and robbing them of what little they had, does not look much like an inferiority of intellect, nor a want of disposition to make a proper use of it. They, at no age, cultivated the art of war to any great extent. Neither are they found making an aggressive war with any nation. But, while other nations were continually robbing and destroying each other, they were cultivating internal improvement; and virtually became a storehouse of every thing conducive to the happiness of mankind, with which she supplied their wants. Even as late as Carthage was in her glory, that race of people exhibited their original character. For that famed city never acquired its greatness, but by the cultivation of commerce. And though she obtained command of both sides of the Mediterranean, became mistress of the sea, made the islands of Corsica and Sardinia tributary to her, yet it is evident she acquired this advantage by her wealth, rather than by her arms.

Europe and America presents quite a different spectacle. There is not a foot of God's earth which is now occupied by them, but has been obtained, in effect, by the dint of war, and the destruction of the vanquished, since the founding of London, A. D. 49. Their whole career presents a motley mixture of barbarism and civilization, of fraud and philanthropy, of patriotism and avarice, of religion and bloodshed. And notwithstanding many great and good men have lived and died bright luminaries of the world-and notwithstanding there are many now living who are the seed of the church, yet it must be admitted that almost every nation in Europe, and especially Americans, retain, in principle, if not in manners, all the characteristics of their barbarous and avaricious ancestors. And instead of their advanced state in science being attributable to a superior developement of intellectual faculties, there is nothing more capable of proof, than that it is solely owing to the nature of the circumstances into which they were drawn by their innate thirst for blood and plunder.

Had the inhabitants of Egypt, Ethiopia. Carthage, and other

kingdoms in Africa, been possessed with the same disposition, the probability is, that the world now would be in a heathenish darkness, for the want of that information which their better disposition has been capable of producing. And had they had the means at that early age of understanding human nature, as they now would have, were their kingdoms in their glory, they would probably not have suffered their liberality to be taken advantage of by a barbarous crew around them. It is not for the want of mind. therefore, that Africa is in her present state; for were the dispositions of her different nations like the ancient barbarians of Europe, they would soon make a plenty of business for Europeans, with all their advantages, to defend themselves against their depredations. But it is not the genius of the race. Nothing but liberal, generous principles, can call the energies of an African mind into action. And when these principles are overruled by a foreign cause, they are left without any thing to inspire them to action, other than the cravings of their animal wants.

Africa never will raise herself, neither will she be raised by others, by warlike implements, or ardent spirits; nor yet by a hypocritical religious crusade, saying one thing and meaning another. But when she rises, other nations will have learned to deal justly with her from principle. When that time shall arrive, the lapse of a few generations will show the world that her sons will again take the lead in the field of virtuous enterprise, filling the front ranks of the church, when she marches into the millennial era.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE INTELLECTUAL CHARACTER OF THE COLORED PEOPLE OF THESE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

In this country we behold the remnant of a once noble, but now heathenish people. In calling the attention of my readers to the subject which I here present them, I would have them lose sight of the African character, about which I have made some remarks in my introduction. For at this time, circumstances have established as much difference between them and their ancestry, as exists between them and any other race or nation. In the first place the colored people who are born in this country, are Americans in every sense of the word. Americans by birth, genius, habits, language, &c. It is supposed, and I think not without foundation, that the slave population labor under an intellectual and physical disability or inferiority. The justness of these conclusions, however, will apply only to such as have been subject to slavery some considerable length of time.

I have already made some remarks with regard to the cause of apparent differences between nations. I shall have cause to remark again, that as the intellectual as well as the physical properties of mankind, are subject to cultivation, I have observed that the growth or culture depends materially on the means employed to that end. In those countries in which the maxims and laws are such as are calculated to employ the physical properties mostly, such as racing, hunting, &c., there is uniformly a full development of physical properties. We will take the American Indian for example. A habit of indolence produces a contrary effect. History, as well as experience, will justify me in saying that a proper degree of exercise is essential to the growth of the corporeal system; and that the form and size depends on the extent and amount of exercise. On

comparing one who is brought up from his youth a tradestnan, with one who is brought up a farmer, the difference is
manifestly apparent according to the difference of their exercise.
Change of public sentiment indirectly affects the form and size of
whole nations, inasmuch as public sentiment dictates the mode
and kind of exercise. The muscular yeomanry who once formed
a majority of our country's population, are now but seldom
found; those who fill their places in society, in no way compare with them in that respect. Compare our farmer's daughters, who have been brought up under the influence of country
habits, with those brought up under city habits, and a difference
is most manifest.

But there is another consideration worthy of notice. Education, says D. D. Hunter,* on the part of the mother, commences from the moment she has the prospect of being a mother. And her own health thenceforth is the first duty she owes to her child. The instructions given to the wife of Manoah, and mother of Sampson, the Nazarite, (Jud. 13, 4:) 'Now, therefore, beware, I pray thee, drink not wine nor strong drink, and eat not any unclean thing,' are not merely arbitrarily adapted only to a particular branch of political economy, and intended to serve local and temporary purposes; no, the constitutions of nature, reason, and experience, which unite in recommending to those who have the prospect of being mothers, a strict attention to diet, to exercise, to temper, to every thing, which affecting the frame of their own body or mind, may communicate an important, a lasting, perhaps indelible impression, to the mind or body of their offspring. A proper regimen for themselves, is therefore the first stage of education for their children. The neglect of it is frequently found productive of effects which no future culture is able to alter or rectify.

These most just remarks confirm me in the opinion, that the laws of nature may be crossed by the misconduct or misfortune of her who has the prospect of being a mother. Apply these remarks to the condition of slave mothers, as such, and what are the plain and natural inferences to be drawn. Certainly, if they are entitled to any weight at all, the intellectual and physical inferiority of the slave population can be accounted for without imputing it to an original hereditary cause. Contemplate the exposed condition of slave mothers—their continual subjection to despotism and barbarity; their minds proscribed to the narrow bounds of servile obedience, subject to irritation from every

quarter; great disappointment, and physical suffering themselves, and continual eye-witnesses to maining and flagellation; shricks of wo borne to their ears on every wind. Indeed, language is lame in the attempt to describe the condition of those poor daughters of affliction. Indeed, I have no disposition to dwell on the subject; to be obliged to think of it at all, is sufficiently harrowing to my feelings. But I would inquire how it can be possible for nature, under such circumstances, to act up to her

perfect laws?

The approbrious terms used in common by most all classes, to describe the deformities of the offspring of these parents, is true in part, though employed with rather bad grace by those in whom the cause of their deformity originates. I will introduce those terms, not for the sake of embellishing my treatise with their modest style, but to show the lineal effects of slavery on its victims. Contracted and sloped foreheads; prominent eye-balls; projecting under-jaw; certain distended muscles about the mouth, or lower parts of the face; thick lips and flat nose; hips and rump projecting; crooked shins; flat feet, with large projecting heels. This, in part, is the language used by moderns to philosophize, upon the negro character. With regard to their mind, it is said that their intellectual brain is not fully developed; malicious disposition; no taste for high and honorable attainments; implacable enemies one to another; and that they sustain the same relation to the ourang outang, that the whites do to them.

Now, as it respects myself, I am perfectly willing to admit the truth of these remarks, as they apply to the character of a slave population; for I am aware that no language capable of being employed by mortal tongue, is sufficiently descriptive to set forth in its true character the effect of that cursed thing, slavery. I shall here be under the necessity of calling up those considerations connected with the subject, which I but a little time since entertained a hope that I should be able to pass by unnoticed; I have reference to a mother who is a slave, bringing into the world beings whose limbs and minds were lineally fashioned for the yoke and fetter, long before her own immortal mind was clothed in materiality.

I would ask my readers to think of woman as the greatest natural gift to man—think of her in delicate health, when the poor delicate fabric is taxed to the utmost to answer the demands of nature's laws—when friends and sympathies, nutricious aliments, and every other collateral aid is needed. O think of poor woman, a prospective mother; and when you think, feel

as a heart of flesh can feel; see her weeping eyes fixed alternately upon the object of her affections and him who accounts her a brute—think how she feels on beholding the gore streaming from the back, the naked back, of the former, while the latter wields the accursed lash, until the back of a husband. indeed the whole frame, has become like a loathsome heap of mangled flesh. How often has she witnessed the wielding club lay him prostrate, while the purple current followed the damning blow. How the rattling of the chain, the lock of which has worn his ancles and his wrists to the bone, falls upon her ear. O, has man fallen so far below the dignity of his original character, as not to be susceptible of feeling. But does the story stop here. I would that it were even so. But alas! this, the ornamental production of nature's God, is not exempt, even in this state, from the task of a slave. And, as though cursed by all the gods, her own delicate frame is destined to feel the cruel scourge. When faint and weary she lags her step, the overseer, as though decreed to be a tormenting devil, throws the coiling lash upon her naked back; and in turn, the master makes it his pleasure to despoil the works of God, by subjecting her to the rank of goods and chattels, to be sold in the shambles. Woman, you who possess a woman's nature, can feel for her who was destined by the Creator of you both, to fill the same sphere with yourself. You know by experience the claims of nature's laws-you know too well the irritability of your natures when taxed to the utmost to fulfil the decree of nature's God.

I have in part given a description of a mother that is a slave. And can it be believed to be possible for such a one to bring perfect children into the world. If we are permitted to decide that natural causes produce natural effects, then it must be equally true that unnatural causes produce unnatural effects. The slave system is an unnatural cause, and has produced its unnatural effects, as displayed in the deformity of two and a half millions of beings, who have been under its soul-and-body-destroying influence, lineally, for near three hundred years; together with all those who have died their progenitors since that period.

But again, I believe it to be an axiom generally admitted, that mind acts on matter, then again, that mind acts on mind; this being the case, is it a matter of surprise that those mothers, who are slaves, should, on witnessing the distended muscles on the face of whipped slaves, produce the same or similar distensions on the face of her offspring, by her own mind being affected by the sight; and so with all other deformities. Like

causes produce like effects. If by Jacob's placing ring-streaked elder in the trough where Laban's flocks drank, caused their young to be ring-streaked and speckled, why should not the offspring of slave mothers, who are continually witnessing exciting objects, be affected by the same law; and why should they not be more affected, as the mother is capable of being more excited.

From the foregoing I draw the following conclusions, with regard to the different degrees of effect produced by slavery. Compare slaves that are African born, with those who are born in slavery, and the latter will in no wise compare with the former in point of form of person or strength of mind. The first and second generation born in this country are generally far before the fourth and fifth, in this respect. Compare such as have been house servants, as they are called, for several generations with such as have been confined to plantations the same term of time, and there will be a manifest inferiority in the latter. Observe among the nominally free, their form of person, features, strength of mind, and bent of genius, fidelity, &c., and it will evidently appear that they who sustain a relation of no further than the third generation from African birth, are in general far before those who sustain a more distant relation. former generally acquire small possessions, and conform their habits of life and modes of operation with those common where they live, while those who have been enslaved for several generations, or whose progenitors in direct line were thus enslaved, cannot be induced to conform to any regular rule of life or operation. I intend this last statement as general fact, of which, however, there are exceptions; where there is a mixture of blood, as it is sometimes called, perhaps these remarks may not apply. I suppose, however, that in case of a union between a degraded American slave of the last order spoken of, and a highly intelligent free American, whether white or colored, that the offspring of such parents are as likely to partake of the influence of slavery through the lineal medium of the slave parent. as to receive natural intelligence through the medium of the other.

So far as I understand, nature's law seems not to be scrupulously rigid in this particular: there appears to be no rule, therefore, by which to determine the effect or lineal influence of slavery on a mixed race. I am satisfied with regard to one fact, however, that caste has no influence whatever: for a union between a highly cultivated black and a degraded one, produces an exact similar effect. Whatever complexion or nation parents thus connected

may be of, the effect produced would be the same, but it would not be certain that their children would occupy a midway region between the intelligent and degraded parent, as in other cases part of a family may be below mediocrity, and part above, in point of form and intellect. One thing is certain, which may have some bearing in the case; that when nature has been robbed, give her a fair chance and she will repair her loss by her own operations, one of which is to produce variety. But to proceed further with any remarks on this point, I feel myself not at liberty. In view of what I have said on this subject, I am aware of having fallen short of giving a full description of the lineal influence and effects slavery has upon the colored population of this country. Such is the nature of the subject, that it is almost impossible to arrange our thoughts so as to follow it by any correct rule of investigation.

Slavery, in its effects, is like that of a complicated disease, typifying evil in all its variety-in its operations, omnipotent to destroy-in effect, fatal as death and hell. Language is lame in its most successful attempt, to describe its enormity; and with all the excitement which this country has undergone, in consequence of the discussion of the subject, yet the story is not half told, neither can it be. We, who are subject to its fatal effects, cannot fully realize the disease under which we labor. of a colored community, whose genius and temperament of minds all differ in proportion as they are lineally or personally made to feel the damning influence of slavery, and, as though it had the gift of creating tormenting pangs at pleasure, it comes up, in the character of an accuser, and charges our half destroyed, discordant minds, with hatred one towards the other, as though a body composed of parts, and systematized by the laws of nature, were capable of continuing its regular configurative movements after it has been decomposed.

When I think of nature's laws, that with scrupulous exactness they are to be obeyed by all things over which they are intended to bear rule, in order that she may be able to declare, in all her variety, that the hand that made her is divine, and when, in this case, I see and feel how she has been robbed of her means to perform her delightful task—her laws trampled under feet with all their divine authority, despoiling her works even in her most sacred temples—I wonder that I am a man; for though of the third generation from slave parents, yet in body and mind nature has never been permitted to half finish her work. Let all judge who is in the fault, God, or slavery.

or its sustainers:

CHAPTER II.

ON THE POLITICAL CONDITION AND CHARACTER OF THE COLORED PEOPLE.

A government like this is at any time liable to be revolutionized by the people, at any and every time there is a change of public sentiment. This, perhaps, is as it should be. But when the subjects of a republican government become morally and politically corrupt, there is but little chance remaining for republicanism. A correct standard may be set up, under which parties may pretend to aim at a defence of the original principles upon which the government was based; but if the whole country has become corrupt, what executive power is there remaining to call those parties in question, and to decide whether their pretensions and acts correspond with the standard under which they profess to act. Suppose the Constitution and articles of confederation, be the admitted correct standard by all parties, still the case is no better, when there is not honesty enough in either, to admit a fair construction of their letter and spirit. Good laws, and a good form of government, are of but very little use to a wicked people, further than they are able to restrain them from wickedness.

Were a fallen angel permitted to live under the government of heaven, his disposition would first incline him to explain away the nature of its laws; this done, their spirit becomes perverted, which places him back in hell from whence he came; for, though he could not alter the laws of heaven, yet he could pervert their use, in himself, and act them out in this perverted state, which would make him act just like a devil. The perversion of infinite good, is infinite evil—and if the spiritual use of the laws of an infinitely perfect government is productive of a perfect heaven, in like manner their spiritual perversion is productive of perfect or infinite hell. Hence it is

said to be a bottomless pit-ay, deep as the principle is high,

from which the distortion is made.

I have taken this course to illustrate the state of a people with a good government and laws, and with a disposition to explain away all their meaning. My conclusions are, that such republicans are capable, like the angel about which I have spoken, to carry out their republicanism into the most fatal despotism. A republican form of government, therefore, can be a blessing to no people, further than they make honest virtue the rule of life. Indeed, honesty is essential to the existence of a republican form of government, for it originates in a contract or agreement of its subjects, relative to the disposal of their mutual interests. If conspiracy is got up by any of the contracters, against the fundamental principles of the honest contract, (which, if republican, embraced those interests which are unalienable, and no more,) and if, by an influence gained by them, so as to make its intent null and void, the foundation of the government is thereby destroyed; leaving its whole fabric a mere wreck, inefficient in all its executive power. Or if the contract had the form of honesty only, when there was a secret design of fraud in the minds of the parties contracting, then of course, it is a body without a soul—a fabric without a foundation; and, like a dead carcass entombed, will tumble to pieces as soon as brought to the light of truth, and into the pure air of honesty.

With regard to the claims of the colored subjects of this government to equal political rights, I maintain that their claims are founded in an original agreement of the contracting parties, and that there is nothing to show that color was a consideration in the agreement. It is well known that when the country belonged to Great Britain, the colored people were slaves. But when America revolted from Britain, they were held no longer by any legal power. There was no efficient law in the land except marshal law, and that regarded no one as a slave. The inhabitants were governed by no other law, except by resolutions adopted from time to time by meetings convoked in the different colonies. Upon the face of the warrants by which these district and town meetings were called, there is not a word said about the color of the attendants. In convoking the continental Congress of the 4th of September, 1776, there was not a word said about color. In November of the same year, Congress met again, to get in readiness twelve thousand men to act in any emergency; at the same time, a request was forwarded to Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, to increase this army to twenty thousand men. Now it is well known that hundreds of the men of which this army was composed, were color-

ed men, and recognized by Congress as Americans.

An extract from the speech of Richard Henry Lee, delivered in Congress, assembled June 8, 1776, in support of a motion, which he offered, to declare America free and independent, will give some view of the nature of the agreement upon which this government is based. 'The eyes of all Europe are fixed upon us; she demands of us a living example of freedom, that may contrast, by the felicity of her citizens, (I suppose black as well as white,) with the ever increasing tyranny which desolates her polluted shores. She invites us to prepare an asylum where the unhappy may find solace, and the persecuted, repose. She entreats us to cultivate a propitious soil, where that generous plant which first sprang up and grew in England, but is now withered by the poisonous blasts of Scottish tyranny, may revive and flourish, sheltering under its salubrious and interminable shade all the unfortunate of the human race.'

The principles which this speech contains, are manifestly those which were then acted upon. To remove all doubt on this point, I will make a short extract from the Declaration of Independence, in Congress assembled, fourth of July, 1776. 'We, the representatives of these United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States. (And now for the pledge.) We mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.' The representatives who composed that Congress were fifty-five in number, and all signed the declaration and pledge in behalf of the good people of the thirteen States.

Now I would ask, can it be said, from any fair construction of the foregoing extracts, that the colored people are not recognized as citizens. Congress drew up articles of confederation also, among which are found the following reserved state privileges. 'Each state has the exclusive right of regulating its internal government, and of framing its own laws, in all matters not included in the articles of confederation, and which are not repugnant to it.' Another article reads as follows: 'There shall be a public treasury for the service of the confederation, to be replenished by the particular contributions of each state, the same to be proportioned according to the number of inhabitants of every age, sex, or condition, with the exception of Indians.'

These extracts are sufficient to show the civil and political recognition of the colored people. In addition to which, however, we have an official acknowledgment of their equal, civil, and political relation to the government, in the following proclamation of Major General Andrew Jackson, to the colored people of Louisiana, Sept. 21, 1814; also of Thomas Butler, Aid de Camp:

'Head Quarters, Seventh Military District, Mobile, September 21, 1814. To the Free Colored Inhabitants of Louisiana.

'Through a mistaken policy you have heretofore been deprived of a participation in the glorious struggle for national rights, in which our country is engaged. This no longer shall exist.

'As sons of Freedom, you are now called upon to defend our most inestimable blessing. As Americans, your country looks with confidence to her adopted children, for a valorous support, as a faithful return for the advantages enjoyed under her mild and equitable government. As fathers, husbands, and brothers, you are summoned to rally round the standard of the Eagle, to defend all which is dear in existence.

'Your country, although calling for your exertions, does not wish you to engage in her cause, without remunerating you for the services rendered. Your intelligent minds are not to be led away by false representations—your love of honor would cause you to despise the man who should attempt to deceive you. In the sincerity of a soldier, and the language of truth, I address

you.

'To every noble hearted free man of color, volunteering to serve during the present contest with Great Britain and no longer, there will be paid the same bounty in money and lands, now received by the white soldiers of the United States, viz., one hundred and twenty-four dollars in money, and one hundred and sixty acres of land. The non-commissioned officers and privates will also be entitled to the same monthly pay and daily rations and clothes, furnished to any American soldier.

'On enrolling yourselves in companies, the Major General commanding, will select officers for your government, from your white fellow citizens. Your non-commissioned officers will be

appointed from among yourselves.

'Due regard will be paid to the feelings of freemen and soldiers. You will not, by being associated with white men in the same corps, be exposed to improper comparisons or unjust sar-

casm. As a distinct, independent battalion or regiment, pursuing the path of glory, you will, undivided, receive the applause

and gratitude of your countrymen.

'To assure you of the sincerity of my intentions, and my anxiety to engage your invaluable services to our country, I have communicated my wishes to the Governor of Louisiana, who is fully informed as to the manner of enrolments, and will give you every necessary information on the subject of this address.

'ANDREW JACKSON, Major General Communating.'

' Proclamation to the Free People of Color.

'Soldiers!—When on the banks of the Moble, I called you to take arms, inviting you to partake the perils and glory of your white fellow citizens, I expected much from you; for I was not ignorant that you possessed qualities most formidable to an invading enemy. I knew with what fortitude you could endure hunger and thirst, and all the fatigues of a campaign. I knew well how you loved your native country, and that you had, as well as ourselves, to defend what man holds most dear—his parents, relations, wife, children and property: You have done more than I expected. In addition to the previous qualities I before knew you to possess, I found moreover, among you, a noble enthusiasm which leads to the performance of great things.

'Soldiers!—The President of the United States shall hear how praiseworthy was your conduct in the hour of danger, and the representatives of the American people will, I doubt not, give you the praise your exploits entitle you to. Your General an-

ticipates them in applauding your noble ardor.

The enemy approaches, his vessels cover our lakes; our brave citizens are united, and all contention has ceased among them. Their only dispute is, who shall win the prize of valor, or who the most glory, its noblest reward.

'By Order, THOMAS BUTLER, Aid de Camp.'

All the civil and political disabilities of the colored people, are the effect of usurpation. It is true, slavery is recognized by the articles of confederation; but there is not a public document of the government, which recognizes a colored man as a slave, not even in the provision for Southern representation.

When fugitive slaves are demanded by Southern slaveholders, they are recovered by virtue of a provision made to recover prisoners held to labor, in the state from whence they have absconded; but how that provision can be construed in such a

manner, as to give them that advantage, I cannot conceive. I am satisfied, that it only serves as a pretext to justify a base perversion of the law, for the sake of pleasing evil doers. In the first place, a slave is not held to labor legally in slave states, because, according to the extract I have made, viz., that each state has a right to frame laws which are not prejudicial to the articles of confederation; there is a limitation to which every other article of the document is subject. Now, what says another article of confederation? Why, that a person held to labor, shall be recovered. But in what way held? Upon this the articles of confederation, are silent; in fact, they may as well be silent; for had they pointed out the manner of persons being held to labor, they would have assumed the province of common law; this, the framers of the constitution and documents of confederation, knew full well; and the administrators of justice now know, that no person under heaven can be held to labor, other than by virtue of a contract, recognizable by common law. Neither do the administrators of justice, found their decisions on any thing found in the articles of confederation; for a proof of which, I will call the attention of my readers to the following considerations.

If a white person is arraigned before a justice, as a fugitive slave, it would not be all the evidence that could be collected to prove him a slave, however true, that would induce a justice at the North to give him up, if he were able to prove that he was of white parentage. It would be the same, in case that an Indian was arrraigned. There have been such claims made, I believe, and the defendants acquitted, even where there was proof positive, on the part of the claimant. This is proof positive, that decisions in such cases are not founded on a sentence contained in the articles of confederation, for there is nothing said, in that instrument, about nation or complexion; but persons held to labor. Now, if it is by virtue of that instrument, that the black man is held to labor, why not hold the white person, and the Indian, by the same power? And if they cannot be held by that instrument, how can any person be held, when no particular person is described? It is evident that decisions in favor of claimants are founded in the fact of the defendants being a black person, or descendants of blacks or Africans. Now, for all this mode of administering justice, there cannot be found a single sentence of justification, in any public document in the country, except such as have been framed by individual states; and these are prejudicial to the articles of confederation. If there is any thing in the articles of confederation, which jus-

tifies such a course of procedure, I have never found it. Only think, if one is claimed who is black, or who is a descendant of a black, (though he be whiter than a white man.) he must be given up to hopeless bondage, by virtue of the articles of confederation, when there is not a word about black contained in the instrument; whereas, if a white person be claimed, if he is half negro, if he can prove himself legally white, or of white parentage, he is acquitted. This course of conduct would be scouted by heathens, as a gross libel upon humanity and justice. It is so; and a violation of the Constitution, and of the Bill of Rights-the rights of the people; and every State which connives at such robbing in high places, clothed with a legal form, without a vestige of legal authority; and that too, after having taken the tremendous oath, as recorded in the Declaration of Independence, ought to have perjury written upon their statute books, and upon the ceiling of their legislative halls, in letters as large as their crime, and as black as the complexion of the injured.

Excuses have been employed in vain to cover up the hypocrisy of this nation. The most corrupt policy which ever disgraced its barbarous ancestry, has been adopted by both church and state, for the avowed purpose of withholding the inalienable rights of one part of the subjects of the government. texts of the lowest order, which are neither witty or decent, and which rank among that order of subterfuges, under which the lowest of rushans attempt to hide, when exposed to detection, are made available. Indeed, I may say in candor, that a highwayman or assassin acts upon principles far superior, in some respects, in comparison with those under which the administrators of the laws of church and state act, especially in their attempts to hide themselves and their designs from the just censure of the world, and from the burning rays of truth. I have no language to express what I see, and hear, and feel, on this subject. Were I capable of dipping my pen in the deepest dye of crime, and of understanding the science of the bottomless pit, I should then fail in presenting to the intelligence of mortals on earth, the true nature of American deception. There can be no appeals made in the name of the laws of the country, of philanthropy, or humanity, or religion, that is capable of drawing forth any thing but the retort,-you are a negro! If we call to our aid the thunder tones of the cannon and the arguments of fire arms, (vigorously managed by black and white men, side by side,) as displayed upon Dorchester Heights, and at Lexington, and at White Plains, and at Kingston, and at

Long Island, and elsewhere, the retort is, you are a negro —if we present to the nation a Bunker's Hill, our nation's altar, (upon which she offered her choicest sacrifice,) with our fathers, and brothers, and sons, prostrate thereon, wrapped in fire and smoke—the incense of blood borne upward upon the wings of sulphurous vapor, to the throne of national honor, with a halo of national glory echoing back, and spreading and astonishing the civilized world;—and if we present the thousands of widows and orphans, whose only earthly protectors were thus sacrificed, weeping over the fate of the departed; and anon, tears of blood are extorted, on learning that the government for which their lovers and sires had died. refuses to be their protector;—if we tell that angels weep in pity, and that God, the eternal Judge, 'will hear the desire of the humble, judge the fatherless and the oppressed, that the man of the earth may no more oppress,'-the retort is, you ARE A NEGRO! If there is a spark of honesty, patriotism, or religion, in the heart or the source from whence such refuting arguments emanate, the devil incarnate is the brightest seraph in paradise.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE NATURE OF THE PREJUDICE OF THE WHITE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, IN ITS MALIGNANT EXERCISE TOWARDS THE COLORED PEOPLE.

Malignant prejudice is a principle which calls into action the worst passions of the human heart. There are cases, however, in which the exercise of prejudice is perfectly harmless. A person may prepossess favorable opinions of another, and such opinions may be just and right. Unfavorable opinions may be formed, also, of persons whose conduct is censurable; and a just prejudice may be exercised towards them, as they stand related to their own bad conduct, without a display of any

malignity.

Again, prejudicial feelings may be exercised towards another, through an error of judgment, for the want of means of knowing the true character of those against whom a prejudice is indulged; in which case, it possesses nothing malignant, because its possessor entertains no purpose of injury. Great caution should be exercised, however, in judging the motives and conduct of another, especially when such conduct relates somewhat to ourselves-because it is very natural for us to be governed by our interest, or imaginary interest, which is liable to lead us into errors of the worst kind. It is also natural, on being convicted of wrong, to plead ignorance. But such a plea will not always excuse the pleader in strict justice. if the prejudiced person has the means of knowing, or if he has any doubt with regard to the justness of his opinions of his neighbors, and still neglects to use the means of informing himself, and to solve his doubts on the subject, but persists in the exercise of his prejudice, he is equally guilty of all the mischief produced thereby, as he would be if he knew ever so well, and persisted in his wrong course in the light of that knowledge.

Prejudice seems to possess a nature peculiar to itself It never possesses any vitiating qualities, except when it is exercised by one who has done, or intends to do, another an injury. And its malignity is heightened in proportion as its victim in any way recovers, or has a manifest prospect of recovering the injury; or if there is apparently a door open by which a superior power to that which he possesses, may bring him to an account for the wrong done to his neighbor, all have a direct tendency to heighten the malignity of prejudice in the heart of its possessor.

The colored population are the injured party. And the prejudice of the whites against them is in exact proportion to the injury the colored people have sustained. There is a prejudice in this country against the Irish, who are flocking here by thousands. Still there is nothing malignant in the nature and exercise of that prejudice, either national or personal. It grows out of the mere circumstance of their different manners and religion. The moment an Irishman adopts the maxims and prevailing religion of the country, he is no longer regarded an Irishman, other than by birth. It is to be remembered, also, that the Irish are not an injured, but a benefited party; therefore, it is not possible that the bestower of benefits could be at the same time malignantly exercising prejudice towards those he is benefiting.

There exists, therefore, no injurious prejudice against the Irish. There exists a prejudice against the Indians, but it is almost entirely national, and for the very reason that the injury they have sustained is essentially national. The jealous eye of this nation is fixed upon them as a nation, and has ever exercised the rigor of its prejudice towards them, in proportion as they attempted to recover their rightful possessions; or, in other words, just in proportion as the physical powers of the Indians, have dwindled to inefficiency, prejudice against them has become lax and passive. It revives only as they show signs of

national life.

The injury sustained by the colored people, is both national and personal; indeed, it is national in a twofold sense. In the first place, they are lineally stolen from their native country, and detained for centuries, in a strange land, as hewers of wood and drawers of water. In this situation, their blood, habits, minds, and bodies, have undergone such a change, as to cause them to lose all legal or natural relations to their mother country. They are no longer her children; therefore, they sustain the great injury of losing their country, their birthright, and are

made aliens and illegitimates. Again, they sustain a national injury by being adopted subjects and citizens, and then be denied their citizenship, and the benefits derivable therefrom —accounted as aliens and outcasts, hence, are identified as belonging to no country—denied birthright in one, and had it stolen from them in another—and, I had like to have said, they had lost title to both worlds; for certainly they are denied all title in this, and almost all advantages to prepare for the next. In this light of the subject, they belong to no people, race, or nation; subjects of no government—citizens of no country—scattered surplus remnants of two races, and of different nations—severed into individuality—rendered a mass of broken fragments, thrown to and fro, by the boisterous passions of this and other ungodly nations. Such, in part, are the national injuries sustained by this miserable people.

I am aware that most people suppose the existence of color to be the cause of malignant prejudice. Upon this supposition an argument is founded, that color is an insurmountable barrier, over which there can be no social or political relation formed between white and colored Americans. To show the folly of which, I shall lay down and sustain the following principles.

First. Effects, according to their numerous laws, partake of their parent cause in nature and quantity; i. e. the amount of effect produced, will exactly agree with the amount of efficiency the cause contains which produced it; and their legitimacy claims for them, the nature of their parent. Apply this rule to the subject under consideration, and it will be seen, that, if color were the cause of prejudice, it follows, that just according to the variegation of the cause, (color) so would the effect variegatei. e. the clear blooded black would be subject to a greater degree of prejudice, in proportion as he was black-and those of lighter caste subject to a less degree of prejudice, as they were light. Now it is well known that the exercise of prejudice, is as intense towards those who are in fact whiter than a clear blooded American, as it is against one who is as black as jet, if they are identified as belonging to that race of people who are the injured party.

Again. That which cannot be contemplated as a principle, abstractly, cannot be an efficient cause of any thing. A principle which is not subject to dissection, having body and parts—a principle of configuration is not capable of being an active cause; therefore, it only exists as a passive principle, depending entirely on an active principle for its existence. Now, if animal color can be contemplated as a cause, it must possess configurative

properties; and if it possess these properties, then it is an independent principle, capable of living and acting after the man is dead, or decomposed. If it is argued that each component part of the man becomes independent when decomposed, and that animal color is one of the component parts, then I would ask, why we cannot comprehend its existence, the same as other matter of which the body was made? If this cannot be done, then it cannot be regarded other than a passive principle in which there is no power of action. Color, therefore, cannot be an efficient cause of the malignant prejudice of the whites against the blacks; it is only an imaginary cause at the most. It serves

only as a trait by which a principle is identified.

The true cause of this prejudice is slavery. Slavery partakes of the nature and efficiency of all, and every thing, that is bad on earth and in hell. Its effect in the character of prejudice, as displayed towards the colored people, fully sustains my position—that effects partake of their parent cause, both in nature and quantity; for certainly, nothing short of every thing evil on earth and in hell, in the form and character of slavery could be capable of producing such prejudicial injuries, as those under which the colored people are doomed to suffer. It must be admitted, that slavery assumes a most vicious character in its exercise towards them. Never could a people exist under greater injuries, than those under which this people have existed in this country; slavery, in its worst form, is the cause of all injury sustained by them. The system of slavery in its effects, is imposed on the injured party in two forms, or by two meth-The first method is, by a code of laws, originating in public sentiment, as in slave states. The other is, prejudice originating in the same, as it exists in free states. The first method is prejudicial, and partakes of the corruptions of public sentiment, which is corrupted by prejudice; but prejudice, in that case, assumes the form of law, and, therefore, is not capable of inflicting such deep injuries, as when it exists without law. Because to all law there is a limitation, whether good or bad; hence, so far as the laws of slave states are concerned, a limitation of suffering may be contemplated, even under their direct influence. However severe slave laws may be, and however faithfully executed according to their letter and spirit-though by them the cup of injury be lavished out in full measure upon the objects of its abuse to the extent of its power, still, the innate principles of the human mind, will cause it to transcend such legal abuse, where a limitation can be comprehended.

Legal codes, however oppressive, have never as yet been able to crush the aspiring principles of human nature. The real monster slavery, cannot long exist, where it is sustained by legal codes only; it is forced to stand off, and is capable of imposing its shadow only, in comparison to what it is capable of doing by collateral aid. When public sentiment, therefore, has become so morally, civilly, and politically corrupted by the principles of slavery, as to be determined in crushing the objects of its malignity, it is under the necessity of calling prejudice to its aid, as an auxiliary to its adopted formal code of wickedness, clothed like a semi-devil, with all the innate principles of the old dragon himself. This auxiliary, is all powerfully capable of accommodating itself to local circumstances and conditions, and appearing with all the nature of the old beast, slavery; it is always ready to destroy every aspiration to civil, political and moral elevation, which arises in the breast of the oppressed. There is no pretext too absurd, by which to justify the expenditures of its soul-and-body-destroying energies. The complexion, features, pedigree, customs, and even the attributes and purposes of God, are made available to its justification.

By this monster, the withering influence of slavery is directed to the very vitals of the colored people—withering every incentive to improvement—rendering passive all the faculties of the intellect—subjecting the soul to a morbid state of insensibility—destroying the body—making one universal wreck of the best

work of nature's God.

Such is its effect at the south, and scarcely less destructive at the north. The only difference is this: at the north, there is not so formal a code of laws by which to direct the energies of prejudice as at the south; still the doctrine of expediency full well makes up the deficiency of cruel laws, giving prejudice as full toleration to exercise itself, and in lavishing out its withering

influence, as law at the south.

It is a remarkable fact that the moment the colored people show signs of life—any indication of being possessed with redeeming principles, that moment an unrelenting hatred arises in the mind which is inhabited by that foul fiend, prejudice; and the possessor of it will never be satisfied, until those indications are destroyed; space, time, nor circumstance, is no barrier to its exercise. Transplant the object of its malignity to Africa, or Canada, or elsewhere, and its poison is immediately transferred from local into national policy, and will exert all possible means it possesses, to accomplish its fell design. It always aims its deadly fangs at the noble and active principles of the immortal

mind, which alone enables man to stand forth pre-eminent in all the works of God.*

Let the oppressed assume the character of capable men in buisness, either mercantile, mechanical, or agricultural,—let them assume the right of exercising themselves in the use of the common privileges of the country—let them claim the right of enjoying liberty, in the general acceptation of the term—let them exercise the right of speech and of thought—let them presume to enjoy the privileges of the sanctuary and the Bible let their souls be filled with glory and of God, and wish to bow the knee at the sacred altar, and commemorate the dying love of Christ the Lord—let them seek a decent burial for their departed friend in the church yard—and they are immediately made to feel that they are as a carcass destined to be preyed upon by the eagles of persecution. Thus they are followed from life's dawn to death's-doom.

I have no language wherewith to give slavery, and its auxiliaries, an adequate description, as an efficient cause of the miseries it is capable of producing. It seems to possess a kind of omnipresence. It follows its victims in every avenue of life.

The principle assumes still another feature equally destructive. It makes the colored people subserve almost every foul purpose imaginable. Negro or nigger, is an approbrious term, employed to impose contempt upon them as an inferior race, and also to express their deformity of person. Nigger lips, nigger shins, and nigger heels, are phrases universally common among the juvenile class of society, and full well understood by them; they are early learned to think of these expressions, as they are intended to apply to colored people, and as being expressive or descriptive of the odious qualities of their mind and body. These impressions received by the young, grow with their growth, and strengthen with their strength. The term in itself, would be perfectly harmless, were it used only to distinguish one class of society from another; but it is not used with that intent; the practical definition is quite different in England to what it is here, for here, it flows from the fountain of purpose to injure. It is this baneful seed which is sown in the tender soil of youthful minds, and there cultivated by the hand of a corrupt immoral policy.

The universality of this kind of education is well known to the observing. Children in infancy receive oral instruction from the nurse. The first lessons given are, Johnny, Billy, Mary,

^{*} Take Hayti fer an example.

Sally, (or whatever the name may be,) go to sleep, if you don't the old nigger will care you off; don't you cry—Hark; the old niggers' coming—how ugly you are, you are worse than a little nigger. This is a specimen of the first lessons

given.

The second is generally given in the domestic circle; in some families it is almost the only method of correcting their children. To inspire their half grown misses and masters to improvement, they are told that if they do this or that, or if they do thus and so, they will be poor or ignorant as a nigger; or that they will be black as a nigger; or have no more credit than a nigger; that they will have hair, lips, feet, or something of the kind, like a nigger. If doubt is entertained by any, as to the truth of what I write, let them travel twenty miles in any direction in this country, especially in the free States, and his own sense of hearing will convince him of its reality.

See nigger's thick lips—see his flat nose—nigger eye shine—that slick looking nigger—nigger, where you get so much coat?—that's a nigger priest—are sounds emanating from little urchins of Christain villagers, which continually infest the feelings of colored travellers, like the pestiferous breath of young devils; and full grown persons, and sometimes professors of religion, are not unfrequently heard to join in the

concert.

A third mode of this kind of instruction is not altogether oral. Higher classes are frequently instructed in school rooms by refering them to the nigger-seat, and are sometimes threatened with being made to sit with the niggers, if they do not behave.

The same or similar use is made of nigger pews or seats in meeting-houses. Professing Christians, where these seats exist, make them a test by which to ascertain the amount of their humility. This I infer from their own language; for, say they, of the colored people, if we are only humble enough, we should be willing to sit any where to hear the word. If our hearts were right we should not care where we sit—I had as lief sit there (meaning the nigger pew,) as any where in the world. This, I admit, is all very good, but comes with rather had grace. But, as I above observed, this kind of education is not altogether oral. Cuts and placards descriptive of the negroe's deformity, are every where displayed to the observation of the young, with corresponding broken lingo, the very character of which is marked with design.

Many of the popular book stores, in commercial towns and cities, have their show-windows lined with them. The barrooms of the most popular public houses in the country, sometimes have their ceiling literally covered with them. This display of American civility is under the daily observation of every class of society, even in New England. But this kind of education is not only systematized, but legalized. At the south, public newspapers are teeming through the country, bearing negro cuts, with remarks corresponding to the object

for which they are inserted.

But this system is not carried on without deep design. It has hitherto been a settled opinion of philosophers that a black man could endure the heat better than a white man. Traders in human flesh have ever taken the advantage of that opinion, by urging it as a plea of justification of their obtaining Africans, as laborers in warm climates; hence, we may naturally expect, that in a slave country like this, it would be a universally admitted axiom; and the more readily admitted, as it is easily construed into a plea to justify their wicked purposes. If the black can endure the heat, and the white cannot, say they, it must be that God made him on purpose for that; hence, it is no harm for us to act in accordance with the purposes of God, These are the simple inferences drawn and make him work. from the philosophical premises, the justness of which I shall hereafter examine.

The arguments founded on these premises, are many. Cotton, rice, indigo, tobacco, and sugar, are great blessings to the world, say they, and they may as well be made to make them as not; for they are a lazy crew at the best, and if they are not made to work for us, they will not work at all, &c. But to come at the truth, the whole system is founded in avarice. I believe the premises to be the production of modern philosophy, bearing date with European slavery; and it has been the almost sole cause of the present prevailing public sentiment in regard to the colored population. It has given rise to the universal habit of thinking that they were made for the sole end of being slaves and underlings. There could be nothing more natural, than for a slaveholding nation to indulge in a train of thoughts and conclusions that favored their idol, slavery. becomes the interest of all parties, not excepting the clergy, to sanction the premises, and draw the conclusions, and hence, to teach the rising generation. What could accord better with the objects of this nation in reference to blacks, than to teach their little ones that a negro is part monkey?

'The love of money is the root of all evil;' it will induce its votaries to teach lessons to their little babes, which only fits them for the destroyers of their species in this world, and for the torments of hell in the world to come. When clergymen, even, are so blinded by the god of this world, as to witness the practice of the most heinous blasphemy in the house, said to be dedicated to God, for centuries, without raising their warning voice to the wicked, it would not be at all surprising if they were to teach their children a few lessons in the science of anatomy, for the object of making them understand that a negro is not like a white man, instead of teaching them his catechism.

The effect of this instruction is most disastrous upon the mind of the community; having been instructed from youth to look upon a black man in no other light than a slave, and having associated with that idea the low calling of a slave, they cannot look upon him in any other light. If he should chance to be found in any other sphere of action than that of a slave, he magnifies to a monster of wonderful dimensions, so large that they cannot be made to believe that he is a man and a brother. Neither can they be made to believe it would be safe to admit him into stages, steam-boat cabins, and tavern dining-rooms; and not even into meeting-houses, unless he have a place prepared on purpose. Mechanical shops, stores, and school rooms, are all too small for his entrance as a man; if he be a slave, his corporeality becomes so diminished as to admit him into ladies' parlors, and into small private carriages, and elsewhere, without being disgustful on account of his deformity, or without producing any other discomfiture. Thus prejudice seems to possess a magical power, by which it makes a being appear most odious one moment, and the next, beautiful-at one moment too large to be on board a steam-boat, the next, so small as to be convenient almost any where.

But prejudice is destructive to life. The public have been frequently told the operation of the slave system is destructive to the life of its victim; this statement is intended generally to be confined to those parts where slavery is legalized; and what has been said relative to the subject is but a beginning of the story. Indeed, I may say the publishers of the horrible effects of slavery in this country, have not generally had the means of knowing one half of its enormity. The extent of it will probably remain a secret until the great day of eternity. Many of us who are conversant with fugitive slaves, on their arrival to the free states, have an opportunity of hearing a tale of wo, which for the want of adequate language, we are not able to

describe. These stories are told with so much native simplicity as to defy the most stubborn incredulity of the incredulous. But, though slavery in this way is carrying its thousands into eternity, in the southern states, yet it is doing hardly less so in the free states, as it displays itself in the character and form

of prejudice.

Mind acts on matter. Contemplate the numerous free people of color under the despotic reign of prejudice—contemplate a young man in the ardor of youth, blessed with a mind as prolific as the air, aspiring to eminence and worth-contemplate his first early hopes blasted by the frost of prejudicewitness the ardor of youth inspiring him to a second and third trial, and as often repelled by this monster foe-hear him appealing to the laws of the land of his birth for protectionthe haughty executives of the law spurning him from the halls of justice. He betakes to the temple of God-the last alternative around which his fading, dying hopes are hovering -but here, also, he receives a death thrust, and that by the hand of the priest of the altar of God. Yes-hear ye priests of the altar-it is the death thrust of slavery carried to the hearts of its victims by you. Yes-let it be known to the world, that the colored people who have been stolen, and have lost all allegiance to Africa, are sold in the shambles, and scouted from every privilege that makes life desirable. Under these discouragements they betake themselves to those who are called to preach good tidings to the meek, to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound, and they are set at nought by them also. The effect of these discouragements are every where manifest among the colored people.

I will venture to say, from my own experience and observation, that hundreds of them come to an untimely grave, by no other disease than that occasioned by oppression. And why should it be otherwise? They are virtually denied all possessions on earth, and how can they stay without a place whereon

to rest.

I, as an individual, have had a sufficient opportunity to know something about prejudice, and its destructive effects. At an early period of my life, I was extensively engaged in mechanism, associated with a number of other colored men of master spirits and great minds. The enterprise was followed for about twenty years, perseveringly, in direct opposition to public sentiment, and the tide of popular prejudice. So intent were the parties in carrying out the principles of intelligent,

active free men, that they sacrificed every thing of comfort and ease to the object. The most rigid economy was adhered to at home and abroad. A regular school was established for the instruction of the youth connected with the factory, and the strictest rules of morality were supported with surprising assiduity; and ardent spirits found no place in the establishment. After the expenditure of this vast labor and time, together with many thousand dollars, the enterprise ended in a total failure. By reason of the repeated surges of the tide of prejudice, the establishment, like a ship in a boisterous hurricane at sea, went beneath its waves, richly laden, well manned, and well managed, and all sunk to rise no more. Such was the interest felt by the parties concerned, and such was their sense of the need of such an establishment for the benefit of colored youth, that they might acquire trades and a corresponding education, that they exerted every nerve to call it into the notice of the public, that the professed friends of the colored people might have an opportunity to save it from becoming a wreck; but all in vain; prejudice had decreed its fate. It fell, and with it fell the hearts of several of its undertakers in despair, and their bodies into their graves.

With the above, I could record the names of scores whose dissolution can be traced to a cloud of obstructions thrown in

their way to prevent enterprise.

I should proceed no farther with this tale of wo, were I satisfied I had done my duty in the case. But the condition of the colored people is such, even in the free states, that every effort, however feeble, should he made to redeem them from the influence of that dreadful monster—prejudice. I have recently travelled among them as a missionary, and their condition is truly lamentable. Their immortal interests, as well as their temporal, are in many places almost entirely disregarded; and in others, their warmest friends seem not to comprehend their true condition. I found several hundreds in some places, who, though the bowl of knowledge was overflowing around them, were not permitted to partake, without they receive it from the cup of contempt, the thought of which, to sensitive minds, is like a draught of wormwood and gall.

Slavery, in the form and character of prejudice, is as fatal, yea, more fatal than the pestilence. It possesses imperial dominion over its votaries and victims. It demands and receives homage from priests and people. It drinks up the spirit of the church, and gathers blackness, and darkness, and death, around her brow. Its poison chills the life blood of her heart. Its

gigantic tread on the Sabbath day, pollutes the altars of the sanctuary of the Most High. It withholds the word of life from thousands of perishing immortals, and shuts the gate of heaven alike upon those whose hearts it possesses, and those marked out for its victims. It opens wide the way to hell; and as though posessed with more than magic power, coerces its millions down to the pit of wo in defiance of the benevolence of a God, and the dying groans of a Saviour. O Prejudice, thou art slavery in disguise! and couldst thou ascend to heaven, thy pestiferous breath would darken and poison that now healthful and happy clime; and thou wouldst make its inhabitants feel the pains of the lowest hell. If there are degrees of intensity to the misery of the damned, that being must feel it in eternity, in whose heart prejudice reigned in this world. O Prejudice, I cannot let thee pass without telling thee and thy possessors, that thou art a compound of all evilof all the corrupt passions of the heart. Yea, thou art a participant in all the purposes of the wicked one-thou art the very essence of hell.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE CLAIMS OF THE COLORED PEOPLE TO ALL THE CIVIL, RELIGIOUS, AND SOCIAL PRIVILEGES OF THIS COUNTRY.

This proposition is in part embraced within the province of those of a preceding chapter. In following it, therefore, I shall

be able to fulfil a promise therein contained.

The claims set up are founded in the fact that they are Americans by birth and blood. Complexion has never been made the legal test of citizenship in any age of the world. It has been established generally by birth and blood, and by purchase, or by the ceding of a province or territory from one nation to another. But as they are denied those privileges principally on the ground of their complexion and blood, it shall be my business in this concluding chapter to show—that though their complexion is as truly American as the complexion of the whites, yet it has nothing to do in settling the question. If blood has any thing to do with it, then we are able to prove that there is not a drop of African blood, according to the general acceptation of the term, flowing in the veins of an American born child, though black as jet. Children of African parents, recently arrived in this country, who have not undergone what is called seasoning, may partake of the characteristics of its African parents; such as the hair, complexion, and such like appendages, but the child's blood has nothing African about it, and for the following reasons. blood of the parents in seasoning to this climate becomes changed-also, the food of the mother being the production of this country, and congenial to the climate—the atmosphere she breathes—the surrounding objects which strike her senses all are principles which establish and give character to the

constitutional principles of the child, among which the blood is an essential constituent; hence every child born in America, even if it be as black as jet, is American by birth and blood. The kind of root called Irish potatoes, is in truth American, if the potatoes are the production of American soil; and thus remain American potatoes, though they be red or deep scarlet. Some eagle-eyed philosophers, who possess great acuteness of smelling powers, think there is a difference of smell between the Africans and Europeans. Suppose that idea to be correct—would it prove any difference of smell between Americans who are constitutionally alike, and whose corporeals are sustained by the same aliment? In philosophically contemplating those constitutional properties, the color of the skin can no more be included than that of the eyes or the length of the nose.

It is the settled opinion of most people in this country, as I mentioned in a former chapter, that black Americans can endure the heat better than white Americans This opinion is founded in the fact that black will retain heat while white emits it. I admit the proposition, but I doubt the correctness of the

conclusions with respect to the color of animals.

Some minerals and dye-stuffs, and other black substances, will retain heat, which is owing to their not possessing any reflecting ingredient or property, by which the light or heat is thrown back. Heated iron will retain heat longer than heated brass, for the same reason—i. e. iron is not possessed of as much reflection as brass—or in other words, it has not the properties of reflection. I believe these are the considerations, and these

only, that are capable of sustaining the proposition.

But these considerations do not and cannot embrace those connected with animal color, for that has neither the power of retaining nor emiting heat—and for the very good reason it possesses no properties; hence no efficient cause in itself to produce any effect whatever. The principle as it exists in relation to minerals and other substances, depends entirely upon the nature of the properties of which these several bodies are composed; but can the principle be made to apply to animal color?

Analyze black iron, and black properties are found in the iron. Analyze black dye-stuff, and black properties are found in the stuff. Analyze light brass, and light reflecting properties are found in the brass.

Analyze a black man, or anatomize him, and the result of research is the same as analyzing or anatomizing a white man.

Before the dissecting knife passes half through the outer layer of the skin, it meets with the same solids and fluids, and from thence all the way through the body. Now I should like to have some modern philosophers, who have got more sense than common school-boys, to tell the world how it is that two bodies of matter, the one exactly similar to the other, in every minute principle of their composition, should produce different effect by the one emiting heat, and the other retaining it.

If it is contended that those properties exist in the animal color itself, then, if they will be good enough to analyze it and give us a knowledge of its parts—i. e. if they think a black head can receive and understand it—they will do the world a

great favor, as well as ourselves.

If the foregoing considerations are reconcilable, then it may be taken for granted that a black man can work better in the hot sun than a white man—but if they are not reconcilable, then the whole theory is only calculated to dupe the black

people, and make knaves of the white people.

But to return. The colored people being constitutionally Americans, they are depending on American climate, American aliment, American government, and American manners, to sustain their American bodies and minds; a withholding of the enjoyment of any American principle from an American man, either governmental, ecclesiastical, civil, social or alimental, is in effect taking away his means of subsistence; and consequently, taking away his life. Every ecclesiastical body which denies an American the privilege of participating in its benefits, becomes his murderer. Every state which denies an American a citizenship with all its benefits, denies him his life. Every community which denies an American the privilege of public conveyances, in common with all others, murders him by piece-meal. Every community which withholds social intercourse with an American, by which he may enjoy current information, becomes his murderer of the worst kind. The claims the colored people set up, therefore, are the claims of an American.

They ask priests and people to withhold no longer their inalienable rights to seek happiness in the sanctuary of God, at the same time and place that other Americans seek happiness. They ask statesmen to open the way whereby they, in common with other Americans, may aspire to honor and worth as statesmen—to place their names with other Americans—subject to a draft as jurymen and other functionary appointments, according to their ability. They ask their white American brethren to think of them and treat them as American citizens,

and neighbors, and as members of the same American family. They urge their claims in full assurance of their being founded in immutable justice. They urge them from a sense of patriotism, from an interest they feel in the well being of their common country. And lastly, they urge them from the conviction that God, the judge of all men, will avenge them of their

wrongs, unless their claims are speedily granted.

There are some objections urged against these claims. One is, that the greater part of the colored people are held as property, and if these claims are granted, their owners would be subject to great loss. In answer to this objection, I would remark, that were I to accede to the right of the master to his property in man, still I should conceive the objection groundless, for it is a well known fact that a far greater portion of the colored people who are free, purchased their freedom, and the freedom of their families. Many of them have purchased themselves several times over. Thousands of dollars have been paid over to masters annually, which was the proceeds of extra labor, in consideration of their expected freedom. My colored acquaintances are numerous who have thus done, some of whom were under the necessity of running away to obtain their freedom after all.

I am sufficiently acquainted with the sentiments and views of the slave population of every slave state in the union, to warrant me in the conclusion, that if the despotic power of the master was wrested from him, and the slaves placed under a law of ever so rigid a nature, with the privilege of paying for themselves by their extra labor, there would be comparatively few slaves in the country in less than seven years. The most of them would pay the round price of their bodies, and come out freemen.

Another objection is, that the slaves, if freed at once, would

not be capable of enjoying suffrages.

This objection has less foundation than the former, for the several state legislatures of the slave states are continually assisting the masters to keep them in ignorance, and why not legislate in favor of their being informed?

Some contend that they are not now fit for freedom, but

ought to be prepared and then freed.

Such a calculation is preposterous. We might as well talk about educating a water machine to run against its propelling power, as to talk about educating a slave for a free man. When travelling through the state of New York, recently, I made some inquiries with respect to the colored people who in some

places are very numerous. I was there informed, by gentlemen whose veracity I cannot doubt, that they are generally indolent and dissipated, far worse than they were when they were slaves. I was told also, that many of them had enjoyed excellent opportunities to become wealthy and respectable. That before the Emancipation Bill was passed in that state, they were mostly slaves, but had an opportunity of obtaining an excellent education, and the art of farming, equal, and in many instances, superior to most white men. When they became free, many of their masters, as a reward of former faithfulness, furnished them with means to operate for themselves on a small scale. My informants expressed much astonishment at the fact that most of those who had the best opportunity to do well, had become dissipated, and much worse in character and conduct than when they were slaves.

I have introduced this narrative for the purpose of showing that slaves cannot be educated for free men. A slave is metamorphosed into a machine, adapted to a specific operation, and propelled by the despotic power of the slave system, without any motive to attract. The influence of this power acts upon a slave the same as upon any other biased agent. By the abrogation of the propelling cause of all the acts of the machine, it ceases to move. The slave is now left, without either motive to attract, or power to coerce. A slave, as such, in undergoing the change from a moral, intelligent being, to a mere machine, lost all the innate principles of a freeman. Hence, when the principles of slavery ceases to act upon him, to the end for which he is a slave, he is left a mere out-of-use wreck of machinery; under nothing but the withering influence of the pelting rain of wickedness.

It is true, many of the slaves of New York had some education, but that education was acquired when a slave. Hence, it was only a collateral means by which he was rendered a more efficient machine. His education was the education of a slave, and not a freeman.

These conclusions may be thought by some to go against the doctrine of immediate abolition—not so. The doctrine of immediate abolition embraces the idea of an entire reversal of the system of slavery. The work of emancipation is not complete when it only cuts off some of the most prominent limbs of slavery, such as destroying the despotic power of the master, and the laying by of the cow-hide. The man who fell among thieves was emancipated in that way. His cruel captivators, I suppose, thought they had done a great act of philanthropy

when they left off beating him. But their sort of emancipation left the poor man half dead—precisely in the same way New York emancipated her slaves, after beating them several hundred years, left them, half dead, without proscribing any healing remedy for the bruises and wounds received by their maltreatment. But the good Samaritan had quite a different view of the subject. It is remembered, undoubtedly, that before he acted, there were several who passed by that way, saw the man, but passed by on the other side. Whether they were Unionists, Colonizationists, or Abolitionists, every one must judge for themselves. But when the good man came along, he carried out the principles of immediate abolitionism. If New York had imitated him, there would have been no complaint about her emancipated negroes (as they are called,) being worse than when they were slaves.

I repeat, that emancipation embraces the idea that the emancipated must be placed back where slavery found them, and restore to them all that slavery has taken away from them. Merely to cease beating the colored people, and leave them in their gore, and call it emancipation, is nonsense. Nothing short of an entire reversal of the slave system in theory and practice—in general and in particular—will ever accomplish the work of redeeming the colored people of this country from

their present condition.

Let the free states no longer act the part of them who passed by on the other side, and leaving the colored people half dead, especially when they were beaten by their own hands, and so call it emancipation—raising a wonderment why the half dead people do not heal themselves. Let them rather act the part of the good Samaritan. That only will open an effectual door through which sympathies can flow, and by which a reciprocity of sentiment and interest can take place — a proper knowledge acquired by the benefactor relative to his duty, and reciprocated on the part of the benefited.

This state of things would possess redeeming power. Every collateral means would be marshaled under the heaven-born principle, that requires all men to do unto others as they would that others should do unto them. It would kindle anew the innate principles of moral, civil and social manhood, in the downstrodden colored Americans; bidding them arise as from the dead, and speed their way back to the height from whence they have fallen. Nor would the call be in vain. A corresponding action on their part would respond to the cheering

voice. The countenance which has been cast down, hitherto. would brighten up with joy. Their narrow foreheads, which have hitherto been contracted for the want of mental exercise. would begin to broaden. Their eye balls, hitherto strained out to prominence by a frenzy excited by the flourish of the whip. would fall back under a thick foliage of curly eyebrows, indicative of deep penetrating thought. Those muscles, which have hitherto been distended by grief and weeping, would become contracted to an acuteness, corresponding to that acuteness of perception with which business men are blessed. That interior region, the dwelling place of the soul, would be lighted up with the fires of love and gratitude to their benefactors on earth, and to their great Benefactor above, driving back those clouds of slavery and of prejudice which have hitherto darkened and destroyed its vision. And thus their whole man would be redeemed, rendering them fit for the associates of their fellow men in this life, and for the associates of angels in the world to come.

> Sons of Columbia, up get ye; Purge you from slavery's guilty stain, Defend the honest poor, the truth maintain.

Sons of pilgrim sires, up get ye; Purge you from slavery's guilty stain, Your country's stained with blood all o'er the main.

Priests of the altar, up get ye;
Purge you from slavery's guilty stain,
Cease to be slavery's vassals—dupes to gain.

Priests of the altar up get ye; Purge you from slavery's guilty stain, No more the holy name of God profane.

Priests of the altar, up get ye; Purge you from slavery's guilty stain, Come ye from under slavery's prejudicial reign.

Priests of the altar, up get ye; Purge you from slavery's guilty stain, The trump of God has sounded—Hark—it sounds again.

Daughters of freedom, up get ye; Purge you from slavery's guilty stain, Shall violated chastity call for help in vain? Daughters of freedom, up get ye; Purge you from slavery's guilty stain, Ere thy sisters' grief 'gainst thee in heaven complain.

Statesmen of Columbia, up get ye; Hark! Jefferson presuag'd from first, Trembling for his country—proclaimed—God is just!!

Priests and people, all, up get ye; Hark! hear the prophets tell, How nations forgetting God are sent to hell.

Priests and people, all, up get ye; Purge you from that dreadful sin, Prejudice—of dev'lish extract—hellish fiend.

Priests and people, all, up get ye; Repent ye while you may, An awful judgment is at hand—God's vengeful day. The sermon, as proposed in our title page, is omitted on the account that it would swell the work far beyond our calculation. It will accompany a work entitled Easton's Lectures on Civil, Social, and Moral Economy, which will be presented to the public in a few weeks. The surplus proceeds of that work, as well as of this, after their expenses are paid, will be given to a colored society in Hartford, Con., who have lost their meeting-house by fire.

An extensive supply of this work may be had by forwarding an order to Isaac Knapp's Book Store and Liberator Office, No. 25 Cornhill, at the rate of \$18 per 100—\$2,50 per doz. 25 cents single copy. Subscribers for the other work solicited on the same conditions—directed to the same office before the first of April.

Wherein the works are deficient in their claims to patronage, it is hoped will be made up by the claims of the suffering society, for whom the proceeds are intended.

ERRATA.

6th page, 6th line from the top, instead of 'sprung' read 'springing'

-and for 'you may find' read 'are found.'

10th page, 2d paragraph, 6th line, instead of 'conquest of armies' read 'conquest in arms'—also, 3d paragraph, 6th line, instead of 'impossible' read 'improbable.'

11th page, 1st line, instead of 'learning' read 'litany.'

12th page, 3d line, instead of 'by conveyance' read 'by other conveyance,'—also, instead of 'kindred and' &c. read 'subjects or' &c.—and for 'defender' read 'defendants.'

14th page, last paragraph, 2d line, instead of 'have annual,' &c. read

'receive annual,' &c.

18th page, 3d paragraph, 5th line, instead of 'the superiority' read 'the pretended superiority.'

19th page, 9th line from the top, read after 'and,' 'their country' vir-

tually, &c.

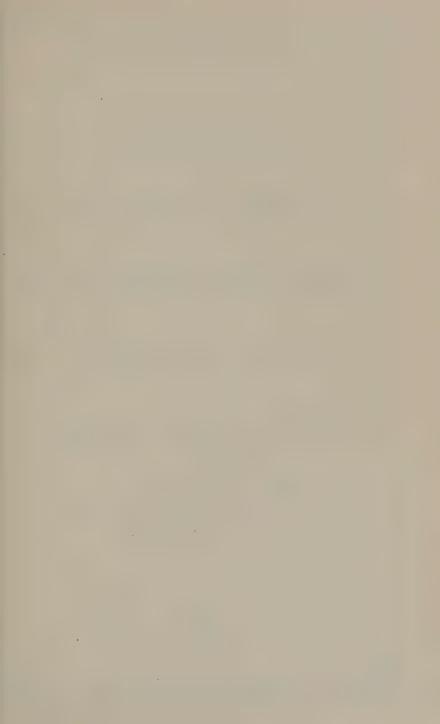
24th page, 2d paragraph, two last lines, instead of 'their progenitors since that period,' read 'since the commencement of that period.'

26th page, 2d paragraph, 12th line, instead of 'pangs' read 'fangs.'
28th page, 3d, 4th, 5th and 6th lines from the bottom, read thus: 'In
convoking the Continental Congress of the 4th of September, 1774, there
was not a word said about color. At a subsequent period, Congress met
again, and agreed to get in readiness 12,000 men, to act in any emergency; also, a request was' &c.

31st page, 4th paragraph, 1st line, instead of 'Moble' read 'Mobile.'

34th page, 7th line from the top, for 'halo' read 'halloo.'

45th page, 5th line from the top, instead of 'surprising' read 'unsurpassing.'





EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

ADDRESS

FROM THE

COLORED CITIZENS OF NORFOLK, VA.,

TO THE

PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

ALSO AN

ACCOUNT OF THE AGITATION

AMONG THE

COLORED PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA FOR EQUAL RIGHTS.

WITH AN APPENDIX CONCERNING

THE RIGHTS OF COLORED WITNESSES BEFORE
THE STATE COURTS.

NO.216





EQUAL SUFFRAGE IN VIRGINIA 1865

Introduction by MAXWELL WHITEMAN

When Confederate troops evacuated Norfolk, Va., and the Union army occupied the area on May 10, 1862, black residents tasted the first fruits of liberty provided by a military administration. Before the war had ended an attempt was made to restore civil government by white Virginians. Alarm, justified by existing conditions, spread among the Negroes of Norfolk who believed that the rights and protection extended to them by the military would be snatched away. They were emancipated, but their social, legal and political status was undefined. They petitioned Lincoln shortly before he was assassinated, appealed to the military commanding the department of Virginia and formed associations to secure equal suffrage. But when it came to municipal elections, their ballots were rejected.

The Address of Norfolk's black "citizens", signed by Dr. Thomas Bayne, a former slave who became a dentist, and Jno. M. Brown, a pastor of the Norfolk AME Church, recounts the efforts of local blacks to achieve their aims. In this brief and vigorous account of their first three years of freedom, the authors were quick to remind their readers of the fact that 25,000 Virginia blacks had fought in the Union Army and that black men were loyal to the flag when white men trampled it under foot.

With a fresh determination to attain their ends, Norfolk's Negroes met in public meeting and adopted a program and agreed upon resolutions that would guarantee equal suffrage, uphold their rights of labor and respect their right to testify and serve as jurors. Associations to further these rights, the framework of which was projected in the spring of 1865, were advocated for all black Virginians. The aims of these associations were to provide for the establishment of wage rates and land associations to enable Negroes to become the "owners of the soil on which they live and labor". By June 1865, three associations concerned with equal suffrage were functioning in Norfolk, Hampton and Williamsburg. Subsidiary groups were formed to oversee the problems of land and labor. Throughout the South similar movements were taking place that

had self-improvement and equal suffrage for goals. The mid-west had its own movement which convened in Indianapolis, while Pennsylvanians met in Harrisburg to stress, among other things, the immediate restoration of the right to vote. Norfolk was not an isolated example, although as a liberated Virginia city its Negro citizenry was among the first to undertake self-reconstruction. All emphasized in common their contribution of men and lives to the cause of Union. It is interesting to note that the Norfolk Address was printed in New Bedford, Mass., and not in Virginia.

Sources:

Herbert Aptheker, A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States (New York, 1951), 533-547. Aptheker's interpretation of the appeals to "white friends" as working "often in unity with poorer whites" has no real foundation. This sophisticated Address could hardly invite cooperation from poor whites who were semi-literate and hostile to emancipation. For comparison to views expressed in the North see, Proceedings of the State Equal Rights Convention of the Colored People of Pennsylvania. . . (Philadelphia, 1865). W. E. B. DuBois, Black Reconstruction (New York, 1935), 360-361 points to the spread of the reconstruction convention movement in a number of states.

ADDRESS

From the Colored Citizens of Norfolk, Va., to the People of the United States.

Fellow Citizens:

The undersigned have been appointed a committee, by a public meeting of the colored citizens of Norfolk, held June 5th, 1865, in the Catharine Street Baptist Church, Norfolk, Va., to lay before you a few considerations touching the present position of the colored population of the southern States generally, and with reference to their claim for equal suffrage in particular.

We do not come before the people of the United States asking an impossibility; we simply ask that a Christian and enlightened people shall, at once, concede to us the full enjoyment of those privileges of full citizenship, which, not only, are our undoubted right, but are indispensable to that elevation and prosperity of our people, which must be the desire of every patriot.

The legal recognition of these rights of the free colored population, in the past, by State legislation, or even by the Judiciary and Congress of the United States, was, as a matter of course, wholly inconsistent with the existence of slavery; but now, that slavery has been crushed, with the rebellion, sprung from it, on what pretext can disabilities be perpetuated that were imposed only to protect an institution which has now, thank God, passed away forever? It is a common assertion, by our enemies, that "this is a white man's country, settled by white men, its government established by white men, and shall therefore be ruled by white men only." How far are these statements true and the conclusion reasonable? Every school-boy knows that within twelve years of the foundation of the first settlement at Jamestown, our fathers as well as yours were toiling in the plantations on James River, for the sustenance and prosperity of the infant colony. Since then in New England, New York and the middle Atlantic States, our race has borne its part in the development of even the free North, while throughout the sunny South, the millions upon millions of acres, in its countless plantations, laden with precious crops, bear witness to the unrequited industry of our people. Even our enemies and old oppressors, themselves, used to admit, nay, contend for, the urgent necessity of our presence and labor to the national prosperity, for whenever slavery was to be defended, they were always ready to prove that the negro must

be the laborer in the South, because a white man's constitution could not withstand the climate.

Again, is it true that this government owes its existence entirely to white men? Why, the first blood shed in the Revolutionary war was that of a colored man. Crispus Attucks, while in every engraving of Washington's famous passage of the Delaware, is to be seen, as a prominent feature, the woolly head and dusky face of a colored soldier, Prince Whipple; and let the history of those days tell of the numerous but abortive efforts made by a vindictive enemy to incite insurrection among the colored people of the country, and how faithfully they adhered to that country's cause. Who has forgotten Andrew Jackson's famous appeal to the colored "citizens" of Louisiana, and their enthusiastic response, in defence of liberty, for others, which was denied themselves? Then did the peaceful stability of the government of the United States, during the (to all but the colored race) happy years, that preceded the late rebellion, owe nothing for its continuance to the colored people? Fellow citizens, was not the maintenance of that peace and order, and thereby of your prosperity, wholly owing to the submissive patience with which our race endured the galling slavery of which they were the victims, in the faith and assurance that God would vet work out their deliverance? Then what has been the behavior of our people during the past struggle? have we in any way embarrassed the government by unnecessary outbreaks on the one hand, or thwarted it by remissness or slackness in response to its calls for volunteers on the other? Let the fact that, in the short space of nine months, from what was called the contraband camp, at Hampton, near Fortress Monroe, and from other parts of this State alone, over twenty-five thousand colored men have become soldiers in the army of the United States, attest our devotion to our country. Over 200,000 colored men have taken up arms on behalf of the Union, and at Port Hudson, Olustee, Milliken's Bend, Fort Wagner, and in the death-haunted craters of the Petersburg mine, and on a hundred well fought fields, have fully proved their patriotism and possession of all the manly qualities that adorn the soldier.

Such, as every one knows, have been the relations and attitude of the colored people to the nation in the past, but we believe our present position is by no means so well understood among the loval masses of the country, otherwise there would be no delay in granting us the express relief which the nature of the case demands. It must not be forgotten that it is the general assumption, in the South, that the effects of the immortal Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln go no further than the emancipation of the negroes then in slavery, and that it is only constructively even, that that Proclamation can be said, in any legal sense, to have abelished slavery, and even the late constitutional amendment, if duly ratified, can go no further; neither touch, nor can touch, the slave codes of the various southern States, and the laws respecting free people of color consequent therefrom, which, having been passed before the act of secession, are presumed to have lost none of their vitality, but exist, as a convenient engine for our oppression, until repealed by special acts of the State legislatures. By these laws, in many of the southern States, it

is still a crime for colored men to learn or be taught to read, and their children are doomed to ignorance; there is no provision for insuring the legality of our marriages; we have no right to hold real estate; the public streets and the exercise of our ordinary occupations are forbidden us unless we can produce passes from our employers, or licenses from certain officials; in some States the whole free negro population is legally liable to exile from the place of its birth, for no crime but that of color; we have no means of legally making or enforcing contracts of any description; we have no right to testify before the courts in any case in which a white man is one of the parties to the suit*; we are taxed without representation, and, in short, so far as legal safeguards of our rights are concerned, we are defenceless before our enemies. While this is our position as regards our legal status, before the State laws, we are still more unfortunately situated as regards our late masters. The people of the North, owing to the greater interest excited by the war, have heard little or nothing, for the past four years, of the blasphemous and horrible theories formerly propounded for the defence and glorification of human slavery, in the press, the pulpit and legislatures of the southern States; but, though they may have forgotten them, let them be assured that these doctrines have by no means faded from the minds of the people of the South; they cling to these delusions still, and only hug them the closer for their recent defeat. Worse than all, they have returned to their homes, with all their old pride and contempt for the negro transformed into bitter hate for the new-made freeman, who aspires to the exercise of his new-found rights. and who has been fighting for the suppression of their rebellion. That this charge is not unfounded, the manner in which it has been recently attempted to enforce the laws above referred to proves. In Richmond, during the three days' sway of the rebel Mayor Mayo, over 800 colored people were arrested, simply for walking the streets without a pass; in the neighboring city of Portsmouth, a Mayor has just been elected, on the avowed platform that this is a white man's government, and our enemies have been heard to boast openly, that soon not a colored man shall be left in the city; in the greater number of counties in this State, county meetings have been held, at which resolutions have been adopted deploring, while accepting, the abolition of slavery, but going on to pledge the planters composing the meeting, to employ no negroes save such as were formerly owned by themselves, without a written recommendation from their late employers, and threatening violence towards those who should do so, thereby keeping us in a state of serfdom, and preventing our free selection of our employers; they have also pledged themselves, in no event, to pay their late adult slaves more than \$60 per year for their labor, in the future, out of which, with characteristic generosity, they have decided that we are to find clothes for ourselves and families, and pay our taxes and doctors' bills : in many of the more remote districts individual planters are to be found who still refuse to recognize their negroes as free, forcibly retaining the wives and children of their late escaped slaves; cases have occurred, not far from Richmond itself, in which an attempt to leave the plantation has

^{*}See Appendix, B.

been punished by shooting to death; and finally, there are numbers of cases, known to ourselves, in the immediate vicinity of this city, in which a faithful performance, by colored men, of the duties or labor contracted for, has been met by a contemptuous and violent refusal of the stipulated compensation. These are facts, and yet the men doing these things are, in many cases, loud in their professions of attachment to the restored Union. while committing these outrages on the most faithful friends that Union can ever have. Even well known Union men have often been found among our oppressors; witness the action of the Tennessee legislature in imposing unheard of disabilities upon us, taking away from us, and giving to the County Courts, the right of disposing of our children, by apprenticing them to such occupations as the court, not their parents, may see fit to adopt for them; and in this very city, and under the protection of military law, some of our white friends who have nobly distinguished themselves by their efforts in our behalf, have been threatened with arrest by a Union Mayor of this city, for their advocacy of the cause of freedom.

Fellow citizens, the performance of a simple act of justice on your part will reverse all this; we ask for no expensive aid from military forces, stationed throughout the South, overbearing State action, and rendering our government republican only in name; give us the suffrage, and you may rely upon us to secure justice for ourselves, and all Union men, and to keep the State forever in the Union.

While we urge you to this act of simple justice to ourselves, there are many reasons why you should concede us this right in your own interest. It cannot be that you contemplate with satisfaction a prolonged military occupation of the southern States, and yet, without the existence of a larger loyal constituency than, at present, exists in these States, a military occupation will be absolutely necessary, to protect the white Union men of the South, as well as ourselves, and if not absolutely to keep the States in the Union, it will be necessary to prevent treasonable legislation. Even as we write, the news comes that, acting under the advice of Governor Pierpont, the legislature of this State has restored to thousands of white voters, who were but recently in arms against the national authority, the right of franchise of which they were deprived, for their crime of treason, by the constitution under which that legislature sits, and it is now proposed to call a convention for the repeal of those sections of the new constitution, forbidding the assumption of any portion of the rebel State debt, and at the municipal election which took place in Norfolk on the 24th inst., a Mayor and Council supposed to favor the payment of more than \$100,000 of bonds issued by the City Council during the rebel occupation, for the payment of the expenses of rebel enlistment and the support of the families of rebel soldiers, was elected by a large majority over a loyal ticket opposed to such assumption of rebe debt. Ask yourselves if it is reasonable to expect that senators and representatives from southern constituencies, lately in unanimous rebellion, wil be willing to vote taxes required to pay the interest on the debt incurred in crushing that rebellion.

You have not unreasonably complained of the operation of that, claus

of the Constitution which has hitherto permitted the slavocracy of the South to wield the political influence which would be represented by a white population equal to three fifths of the whole negro population; but slavery is now abolished, and henceforth the representation will be in proportion to the enumeration of the whole population of the South, including people of color, and it is worth your consideration if it is desirable or politic that the fomenters of this rebellion against the Union, which has been crushed at the expense of so much blood and treasure, should find themselves, after defeat, more powerful than ever, their political influence enhanced by the additional voting power of the other two fifths of the colored population, by which means four Southern votes will balance in the Congressional and Presidential elections at least seven Northern ones-The honor of your country should be dear to you, as it is, but is that honor advanced, in the eyes of the Christian world, when America alone, of all Christian nations, sustains an unjust distinction against four millions and a half of her most loyal people, on the senseless ground of a difference in color? You are anxious that the attention of every man, of every State legislature, and of Congress, should be exclusively directed to redressing the injuries sustained by the country in the late contest; are these objects more likely to be effected amid the political distractions of an embarrassing negro agitation? You are, above all, desirous that no future intestine wars should mar the prosperity and destroy the happiness of the country; will your perfect security from such evils be promoted by the existence of a colored population of four millions and a half, placed, by your enactments, outside the pale of the Constitution, discontented by oppression, with an army of 200,000 colored soldiers, whom you have drilled, disciplined, and armed. but whose attachment to the State you have failed to secure by refusing them citizenship? You are further anxious that your government should be an example to the world of true Republican institutions; but how can you avoid the charge of inconsistency if you leave one eighth of the population of the whole country without any political rights, while bestowing these rights on every immigrant who comes to these shores, perhaps from a despotism, under which he could never exercise the least political right, and had no means of forming any conception of their proper use?

We have now shown you, to the best of our ability, the necessity of the recognition of the right of suffrage for our own protection, and have suggested a few of the reasons why it is expedient you should grant us that right; but while we stand before you, pleading with you, for our fellows, on the grounds of humanity and political expediency, we would not have you forget that our case also stands on the basis of constitutional right. No sane person will for a moment contend that color or birth are recognized by the Constitution of the United States as any bar to the acquisition or enjoyment of citizenship. Further, the Congress of the Confederation expressly refused in June, 1778, to permit the insertion of the word "white" in the fourth article of Confederation, guaranteeing to the "free inhabitants" of each State, the privileges and immunities of citizens, in all the States. Free people of color were recognized voters in every State but South Carolina, at the time of the formation of the Constitution of the Uni-

ted States, and therefore clearly formed part of the "people" of the United States, who in the language of the preamble to the Constitution "ordained and established" that Constitution. It follows, then, that they are entitled to a full participation in all the benefits that Constitution was ordained to confer, and, among others, to that inestimable blessing of "a republican form of government," guaranteed to the people of each State, by Sec. 4th, Art. IV of the Constitution. Further, from time immemorial, before the Constitution was established, and, since its establishment, in accordance with its spirit and express provisions, our people have enjoyed all the rights of citizens, including that of suffrage, in many of the northern States: but if their right to vote is refused in other States, what becomes of their rights under Sec. 2d, Art. IV, of the Constitution, which guarantees to them as citizens of such a State "all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," if the constitutional supremacy of that provision is to be set aside by State enactment? We believe this position to be impregnable, as stated in the words of counsel, in the report of the case which forms Appendix "B" to this address, that all the State laws imposing disabilities upon colored people on the ground of color. "being but a creation of slavery, and passed for its maintenance and perpetuation, are part and parcel of the system and must follow its fate." If we turn to the State Constitutions and Bills of Rights, our case is still stronger. The constitution of Georgia now only prescribes as the qualification that a voter must be "a citizen and inhabitant"; and while in the constitutions of other of the Southern States is found the word "white," when describing the necessary qualification for the right of suffrage, yet, on the other hand, in most instances, their bills of rights claim the exercise of the suffrage as the natural and legal right of every freeman, in the most unqualified manner. For instance, in Delaware, the Bill of Rights declares that " every freeman having sufficient evidence of permanent common interest with and attachment to the community, hath the right of suffrage." The Bill of Rights of the State of Virginia, adopted in 1776, and since prefacing and forming part of every Constitution of Virginia, declares also in Section 6th, "that all elections ought to be free, and that all men having sufficient evidence of common interest with, and attachment to the community, have the right of suffrage, and cannot be taxed or deprived of their property for public uses, without their own consent, or that of their representatives so elected, nor bound by any law to which they have not in like manner assented for the public good"; and yet, in defiance of this provision the present constitution goes on to confine the right of voting to white men exclusively.

It is hardly necessary here to refute any of the slanders with which our enemies seek to prove our unfitness for the exercise of the right of suffrage. It is true, that many of our people are ignorant, but for that these very men are responsible, and decency should prevent their use of such an argument. But if our people are ignorant, no people were ever more orderly and obedient to the laws; and no people ever displayed greater earnestness in the acquisition of knowledge. Among no other people could such a revolution have taken place without scenes of license and bloodshed; but in this

case, and we say it advisedly, full information of the facts will show that no single disturbance, however slight, has occurred which has not resulted from the unprovoked aggression of white people, and, if any one doubts how fast the ignorance, which has hitherto cursed our people, is disappearing, 'mid the light of freedom, let him visit the colored schools of this city and neighborhood, in which between two and three thousand pupils are being taught, while, in the evening, in colored schools may be seen, after the labors of the day, hundreds of our adult population from budding manhood to hoary age, toiling, with intensest eagerness, to acquire the invaluable arts of reading and writing, and the rudimentary branches of knowledge. One other objection only will we notice; it is that our people are lazy and idle; and, in support of this allegation, the objectors refer to the crowds of colored people subsisting on Government rations, and flocking into the towns. To the first statement we reply that we are poor, and that thousands of our young and able-bodied men, having been enlisted in the army to fight the battles of their country, it is but reasonable that that country should contribute something to the support of those whose natural protectors that country has taken away. With reference to the crowds collected round the military posts and in the cities, we say that though some may have come there under misapprehensions as to the nature of the freedom they have just received, yet this is not the ease with the majority: the colored man knows that freedom means freedom to labor, and to enjoy its fruits, and in that respect evinces at least an equal appreciation of his new position with his late owners; if he is not to be found laboring for these late owners, it is because he cannot trust them, and feels safe, in his newfound freedom, nowhere out of the immediate presence of the national forces; if the planters want his labor (and they do,) fair wages and fair treatment will not fail to secure it.

In conclusion, we wish to advise our colored brethren of the State and nation, that the settlement of this question is to a great extent dependent on them, and that supineness on their part will do as much to delay if not defeat the full recognition of their rights as the open opposition of avowed enemies. Then be up and active, and everywhere let associations be formed having for their object the agitation, discussion and enforcement of your claims to equality before the law, and equal rights of suffrage. Your opponents are active; be prepared, and organize to resist their efforts. We would further advise that all political associations of colored men, formed within the limits of the State of Virginia, should communicate the fact of their existence, with the names and post office addresses of their officers, to Joseph T. Wilson, Norfolk, Va., in order that communication and friendly cooperation may be kept up between the different organizations, and facilities afforded for common and united State action, should occasion require it.

Second—Everywhere in Virginia, and doubtless in all other States, your late owners are forming Labor Associations, for the purpose of fixing and maintaining, without the least reference to your wishes or wants, the prices to be paid for your labor; and we say to you "Go and do likewise." Let Labor Associations be at once formed among the colored people throughout the length and breadth of the United States, having for their

object the protection of the colored laborer, by regulating fairly the price of labor; by affording facilities for obtaining employment by a system of registration, and last, though by no means least, by undertaking, on behalf of the colored laborer, to enforce legally the fulfilment of all contracts made with him. To insure uniformity of action in this matter, throughout this State, it is desirable that a means of communication be afforded the different associations, and, for this purpose, Mr. Wm. Keeling, of No. 96 Church street, Norfolk, Va., a member of this committee, will receive all communications giving information of such associations formed within the limits of this State.

Third—The surest guarantee for the independence and ultimate elevation of the colored people will be found in their becoming the owners of the soil on which they live and labor. To this end, let them form Land Associations, in which, by the regular payment of small instalments, a fund may be created for the purchase at all land sales, of land on behalf of any investing member, in the name of the Association, the Association holding a mortgage on the land until, by the continued payment of a regular subscription, the sum advanced by the Association and the interest upon it are paid off, when the occupier gets a clear title. Communications from all such Associations in this State, with a view to the formation of a Union of the Virginian Colored Land Associations, will be gladly received by Mr. Geo. W. Cooke, No. 21 Fox Lane, Norfolk, Va.

Any of our white friends in this State, favorable to the views set forth in this address, would do us a great benefit by signing the pledge forming the cover of this pamphlet and forwarding it with their names and addresses to either of the Recording Secretaries of the Democratic Republican Association, described in Appendix "A," Messrs. C. E. Johnson, or T. L. R. Baker, both of Norfolk.

In concluding this address, we would now make a last appeal to our fellow-citizens of all classes throughout the nation. Every Christian and humane man must feel that our demands are just; we have shown you that their concession is, for us, necessary, and for you expedient. We are Americans, we know no other country, we love the land of our birth and our fathers, we thank God for the glorious prospect before our country, and we believe that if we do but obey His laws He will yet enthrone her high o'er all the nations of the earth, in glory, wealth and happiness; but this exalted state can never be reached if injustice, ingratitude, and oppression of the helpless, mark the national conduct, treasuring up, as in the past, God's wrath and your misery for a day of reckoning; as the path of justice alone is ever the safe and pleasant way, and the words of Eternal Wisdom have declared that the throne (or nation) shall be established only by righteousness and upholden by mercy. With these reflections we leave our case in the hands of God, and to the consideration of our countrymen.

Signed, on behalf of the colored people of Norfolk and vicinity, June 26th, 1865.

Du. THOMAS BAYNE, Norfolk, Chairman of Committee.

JNO. M. BROWN, Pastor of the African Methodist

Episcopal Church, Bute Street, Norfolk, Va.

THOMAS HENSON, Pastor of the Catharine Street
Baptist Church, Norfolk, Va.
WM. KEELING, 96 Church street, Norfolk, Va.
GEO. W. COOKE, 21 Fox Lane, Norfolk, Va.
JOSEPH T. WILSON, 26 Hawk street, Norfolk, Va.
THOS. F. PAIGE, Jr., 27 Hawk street, Norfolk, Va.
H. HIGHLAND GARNET, Pastor 15th St. Presbyterian

Church, Washington, D. C., Honorary Member.

Equal Suffrage in Norfolk, Virginia.

The object of this pamphlet, as stated in the address prefacing it, is to give a succinct account of the movement, in the city of Norfolk, Va., to obtain for the colored people of this State and Nation its inestimable and indispensable right of suffrage.

Ever since the evacuation of Norfolk by the rebels, and its occupation by the Union army, on May 10th, 1862, the colored people of this district have enjoyed the blessings of freedom, and the more than paternal care and protection of the United States government. The facilities afforded them for the acquisition of knowledge, the necessities of their new position and the thousand questions as to the future arising from it, led many among them to perceive the necessity of organizing for united political action. A good deal of discussion took place privately without arriving at any result, until, in the early part of the year 1865, an attempt was made by part of the loyal white inhabitants of the city, to restore civil government, which had been supplanted by a military administration of affairs under Major General Butler. The colored people of Norfolk, who by the military authorities had been protected in the full enjoyment of the rights and liberties of loyal men, naturally looked with alarm and dissatisfaction on the proposal to restore the civil government on a basis which contemplated no representation of their rights and interests. A committee was at once formed, under whose auspices a meeting was held in the Mechanics' Hall, on Feb. 27, Mr. H. F. Trumble in the chair, and G. W. Cook, Sec., at which resolutions were adopted protesting against the restoration of civil government until the complete restoration of peace and the possibility of establishing civil government on a "loyal and equal basis." Copies of the resolutions adopted were sent to President Lincoln, Maj. Gen. Ord, commanding the department of Virginia, and Brigadier General Gordon, commanding the District, with a report of the proceedings of the meeting and a memorial on behalf of the meeting, signed by the chairman and secretary.

On the 4th of April, 1865, another public meeting of the colored people of Norfolk was held at the Mechanics' Hall, Rev. Wm. I. Hodges, President, which resulted in the formation of the "Colored Monitor Union Club,"

the primary object of which, as stated in the constitution, was to be "to promote union and harmony among the colored portion of this community, and to enlighten each other on the important subject of the right of universal suffrage to all loyal men, without distinction of color, and to memorialize the Congress of the United States to allow the colored citizens the equal right of franchise with other citizens; to call frequent meetings, and procure suitable speakers for the same; to form auxiliary clubs throughout the Eastern District of Virginia, to give publicity to our views all over the country, and to assist the present administration in putting down the enemies of the government, and to protect, strengthen and defend all friends of the Union." The organization of the club was completed April 6th, by the election of president, vice presidents, treasurer and secretaries. In pursuance of the objects of the club, large and enthusiastic public meetings of the colored citizens of Norfolk were held in the Mechanics' Hall, on April 25th, May 2d, and May 16th, at which much information was disseminated, respecting the movement in behalf of negro suffrage.

Besides the discussion of the question by the Colored Monitor Union Club, a lively interest was taken in the matter by the larger body of colored people outside the club organization, and a mass meeting was held May 11th, at the Bute Street Baptist Church (colored). The church was crowded, and Dr. Thomas Bayne was chosen president; and A. Portlock, Secretary. After prayer by the President, a committee on business was appointed, who reported the following resolutions, to wit:

1st. Resolved, That the rights and interests of the colored citizens of Virginia are more directly, immediately and deeply affected in the restoration of the State to the Federal Union than any other class of citizens; and hence, that we have peculiar claims to be heard in regard to the question of its reconstruction, and that we cannot keep silence without derelication of duty to ourselves, to our country, and to our God.

2d. Resolved, That personal servitude having been abolished in Virginia, it behooves us, and is demanded of us, by every consideration of right and duty, to speak and act as freemen, and as such to claim and insist upon equality before the law, and equal rights of suffrage at the "ballot box."

3d. Resolved, That it is a wretched policy and most unwise statesmanship that would withhold from the laboring population of the country any of the rights of citizenship essential to their well-being and to their advancement and improvement as citizens.

4th. Resolved, That invidious, political, or legal distinctions, on account of color merely, if acquiesced in, or voluntarily submitted to, is inconsistent with our own self-respect, or the respect of others, placing us at great disadvantages, and seriously retards our advancement or progress in improvement, and that the removal of such disabilities and distinctions are alike demanded by sound political economy, by patriotism, humanity and religion.

5th. Resolved, That we will prove ourselves worthy of the elective franchise, by insisting upon it as a right, by not tamely submitting to its deprivation, by never abusing it by voting the State out of the Union, and never using it for purposes of rebellion, treason or oppression.

6th. Resolved, That the safety of all loyal men, black and white, in the midst of the recently slaveholding States, requires that all loyal men, black or white, should have equal political and civil rights, and that this is a necessity as a protection against the votes of secessionists and disloyal men.

7th. Resolved, That traitors shall not dictate or prescribe to us the terms or conditions of our citizenship, so help us God.

8th. Resolved, That as far as in us lies, we will not patronize or hold business relations with those who would deny to us our equal rights.

9th. Resolved, That we recommend that a Delegate Convention be held for the purpose of carrying out the foregoing objects and designs, and that, this meeting appoint a committee of seven to aid in getting up said Convention.

On motion, Lemuel W. Lee, Rev. John M. Brown, Rev. Thomas Henson and Edward W. Williams, were appointed a committee to carry out the objects and designs of the resolutions, and call this meeting again as soon as practicable.

In the meantime, the collapse of the rebellion and the subsequent recognition by President Johnson of Governor Pierpont as the Governor of the State of Virginia, also the approach of the time appointed by the new socalled constitution of the State of Virginia, for the State and Congressional elections, led to the appearance of several candidates for the honor of representing Norfolk in Congress and the State Legislature. Of the opinions and character of these candidates it is not necessary here to say one word, save that most of them were entirely unfavorable to negro suffrage. By proclamation of Governor Pierpont, the congressional elections were postponed, owing to the absence of county organization, but the State elections were authorized to proceed. In view of the position of affairs, a call was issued by a number of the white Unionists of the city for a "mass meeting of all loyal citizens without distinction of birth or color, to be held at the City Hall, May the 23d, 1865," to take such action as might be deemed desirable, in view of the coming elections. Although but short notice had been given the meeting was attended by about 150 white and over 2000 colored citizens. The meeting was organized by the election of Calvin Pepper, Esq., chairman, and Messrs. Dear, Baker and Paige, as secretaries. A committee of seven, five of whom were colored citizens, was appointed to draft resolutions to be submitted to the meeting. Addresses were delivered during the absence of the committee on resolutions, and, on the committee returning, the following preamble and resolutions were reported, which, after a little discussion, were put to the meeting seriatim and adopted unanimously:

WHEREAS, It is proposed to hold an election for representatives to the General Assembly of Virginia from this, the 2d District, in accordance with the provisions of a constitution framed by a convention assembled at Alexandria, Va., on the 13th day of February, 1864; and

Whereas, The said constitution has never been submitted to the people of the State for their approval, and has therefore no claim to be regarded as otherwise than provisional; and

WHEREAS, By this said so-called constitution there is no provision by which the votes of loyal colored men can be received by the conductors of elections; and

WHEREAS, It is desirable that the civil government of the State should be reorganized so soon as compatible with the interests of the United States upon a basis which shall give to all loyal citizens the right of suffrage, and of deciding upon the constitution of the reorganized State: therefore.

Resolved, That, as loyal citizens, we can recognize no civil government or civil officers in this State except so far as recognized or approved by the general government, and that we will sustain and carry out, to the best of our ability, the policy of the general government in the reconstruction of the Federal Union.

Resolved, That justice, humanity, sound political economy, and the public safety, require that all loyal men should be equal before the law, and have equal rights of suffrage at the ballot box, without distinction of birth, sect, creed, or color.

Resolved, That in view of the natural rights, enunciated in the last resolution, the political necessities of the times, and the fact that the constitution of the State authorizing the coming election is but provisional, and that the results of the said election will depend for their validity on their recognition by the government of the United States, that the colored people of this district already possess the legal as well as the natural right to vote, and that we call upon the loyal colored men of this District, to go to the polls on Thursday next, in their respective election precincts, and there tender their votes on behalf of the candidates of their choice.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the chair to take such action as may be deemed desirable in case of the rejection by the conductors of the election of the votes so offered.

Resolved, That in view of the exigencies of the times, and the necessity that all men elected to State offices should be men of tried fidelity to the Union, and of liberal sentiments, and that the candidates now before the public are in no way representative of the loyal citizens of Norfolk, but only of themselves, we therefore nominate and pledge ourselves to the support at the polls of the following candidates:

For the Senate-D. W. Todd, Sr.

House of Delegates-Francis De Cordy and James H. Hall.

Resolved, That the secretary be instructed to transmit the foregoing resolutions to the Secretary of State, with a request that they be laid before the President of the United States, and that copies of the same be sent to those members of Congress who have shown themselves favorable to the elective rights of the colored men, and the same be published in the local paper, and also sent to other papers friendly to the cause, with a request for insertion.

CALVIN PEPPER, President.

T. L. R. BAKER, Secretaries. Joseph A. Dean,

A committee was appointed to request the attendance of the gentlemen named as candidates, who had also previously been nominated by

the Union League of white loyal citizens, that the meeting might have an expression of their political views. All the candidates attended, and, with the exception of Mr. De Cordy, distinctly pledged themselves to vote for the enfranchisement of the colored population, if elected to the State legislature. It is needless to inform those who know the colored people, that the greatest order and decorum prevailed at the meeting, although the speeches delivered there were by the newspapers of the city characterized as "incendiary."

The above resolutions were also indorsed at a meeting of the "Monitor Union Club," held the same evening at the Bute Street Baptist Church (colored.)

On the morning of Thursday, May 25th, the day of election, a large gathering of colored men took place at the Bute Street Methodist Church. at 8 A. M., over 500 being present at the commencement of the proceedings, which number was afterwards largely increased. A committee having been appointed by the chairman of the public meeting, in accordance with the resolution, the committee proceeded to make arrangements for conducting the voting by dividing the persons present into four bodies, according to the ward in which each lived. It was at first determined to proceed in a body to the polls, and there tender the votes, but lest the obstruction to the polling, caused by the presence of such large bodies of men at the polling place should afford a pretext for disturbance, it was decided to appoint four committees to proceed to the polling places in each ward, and ascertain, by tendering their own individual votes, whether the votes of colored citizens would be received, either on the polling book, or if not, on the separate list provided by law for contested or disputed votes. The committees appointed were as follows:

1st Ward-Albert Portlock, Thomas Wisher, and Junius Fraser.

2d Ward-T. F. Paige, Jr., J. T. Wilson, and Peter Shepherd.

3d Ward-E. W. Williams, Geo. W. Cook, W. Southall.

4th Ward-Geo. W. Dawley, A. Woodhouse, Rev. Mr. Lewis, and A. Wilson.

The Rev. J. M. Brown was elected chairman, and Dr. Thomas Bayne secretary.

During the absence of the committees appointed as above the meeting engaged in prayer for the success of their efforts. On their return the committees from the 1st, 3d, and 4th wards reported that the conductors of the elections in those wards refused to receive the votes of colored people, in any manner whatever, while the committee from the 2d ward alone reported that the conductors of the election in that ward had consented to receive the votes of colored men upon a separate list, as of voters whose qualifications were a matter of dispute. On this announcement being made, the whole assembly rose, and, at the instance of the chairman, sang the hymn "Praise Gcd, from whom all blessings flow."

Arrangements were immediately made by which the colored citizens of that ward should proceed to the polling place, ten at a time, and there tender their votes, and for recording at the Bute Street African Methodist Church the votes rejected at the other polling places. The names of the voters living in the 1st, 3d and 4th wards were registered, and their votes received by the committees for those wards, before mentioned, and though occupying the whole day, the proceedings were conducted with the most perfect order and decorum.

The results of the day's polling were, at the church :-

Todd, 712 De Cordy, 712 Hall, 712 which, with 354 votes cast for the same candidates, in the second ward, made the whole number of colored votes 1066; no colored vote being cast for any other than the candidates mentioned. The result of the white voting was widely different, though full of encouragement to the friends of negro suffrage, since the candidates pledged to that policy stood second on the poll, the result of the day's polling being as follows:

 Robinson, 150
 Todd, 89
 Harrison, 81

 Ellis, 124
 DeCordy, 83
 Hill, 81

 Hardey, 133
 Hall, 108
 Cole, 20

When it is considered that only three years ago any man suspected of the slightest tinge of abolitionism would have been, at least, ridden on a rail out of the city, if he were fortunate enough to escape hanging in the market place, while now the avowed advocates of negro suffrage, on their first appeal to the people of this city, stand only second at the poll, there is quite enough in that single fact to fill every patriotic heart with wonder and gratitude at the astounding progress which, under Providence, has been made by public opinion in the direction of impartial freedom,

A meeting was held in the same place in the evening, Thomas Wisher in the chair, F. F. Paige, Jr., and A. T. Wilson acting as secretaries, and after various congratulatory remarks on the proceedings of the day, it was resolved "that Calvin Pepper, Esq., and the committees of election held in this place to-day, be requested to attend at the meeting of the Inspectors of Election, at the City Hall, to-morrow, to take such measures as may seem desirable, in consequence of the proceedings of to-day." It was also resolved that the proceedings of to-day be published in pamphlet form, to be accompanied by an address to men of all classes and conditions throughout the country, and that 5000 copies thereof should be printed for distribution.

No meeting of Inspectors of the Elections was held next morning, but the result of the polling was published by the Sheriff, from the returns of the conductors of elections, and no notice taken, or remark make, respecting the colored votes registered in the second ward. The committees of the election held at the Bute Street Methodist Church, met at Mr. Pepper's office, when affidavits were prepared setting forth the circumstances attending the registry of the votes rejected in the 1st, 3d and 4th wards, but taken at the church, and also as to the number of votes given in the 2d ward. On these affidavits, it is proposed when the legislature meets, to present a petition claiming the election, on the ground that these votes were improperly refused. We have no space here to enter upon the discussion of the legal principles on which it is claimed that the colored population of Virginia already possess the legal as well as natural right to vote, were it proper in this connection to do so, but it is desirable to state that we claim

that no unbiassed person can read the declarations of the Bill of Rights, incoporated in the constitution of the State of Virginia, or the constitution of the United States, without coming to the conclusion warranted by justice and humanity, that color alone affords no constitutional or legal ground for the imposition of any civil disability. It would be improper to conceal our expectation, that but little hope can be entertained of any redress at the hands of the present Virginia legislature, but behind these are the President and Congress of the United States, to which higher tribunals we intend to appeal.

A meeting was held at the Bute Street Colored Baptist Church on Monday evening, June 5th, Rev. Dr. Bayne in the chair, when committees were appointed to prepare the address published herewith, and to make arrangements for a public meeting to be held on Wednesday, June 14th, to adopt the address prepared by the committee, and authorize its publication.

It is in contemplation, as before stated, to call a general convention of the colored people throughout the State, to be held at Richmond at an early date, and in pursuance thereof meetings have been held in Norfolk, and at Hampton, and delegates appointed to attend the same on behalf of the colored population of those places.

On Thursday evening, June 15th, a meeting was held in the Catharine Street Baptist Church, Rev. Dr. Thomas Bayne, President, and Rev. J. M. Brown, James Robertson, James Newton and Miles Collyer were elected Vice Presidents, and Mr. J. T. Wilson, Secretary. The draft for the present pamphlet was read, which, with certain amendments, was unanimously adopted, and authorized for publication, and the Rev. H. Highland Garnett was elected an honorary member of the committee to prepare the address. Addresses appropriate to the occasion were delivered by the President and the Rev. H. H. Garnett, and after taking up a subscription for the expenses of the meeting, and the contemplated publication, the meeting then adjourned.

Such, in as few words as it was possible to relate, is the present position of the agitation among the colored people of Norfolk, in behalf of equal rights, an agitation for a just and constitutional end, conducted in a perfectly constitutional and peaceful manner, and unmarked, on the part of the colored people, by the slightest excess, or the least breach of order, though incitements to these have not been wanting in threats, provoctions and slanders from the enemies of the colored race. This agitation has been peaceful and moderate, because, even in the absence of the right of suffrage, the people of Norfolk felt safe under the protection of the national authorities, and that the justice of their demands was so clear that they cannot fail in obtaining a speedy recognition at the hands of an enlightened and liberty-loving people. How far that hope will be justified by events the coming time will soon reveal; God grant they may never have to say that they appealed to the patriotism, justice and humanity of the American people and—appealed in vain.

APPENDIX A.

Equal Suffrage among the Recognized Union Voters of Norfolk.

The number of professed Union men who are openly in favor of the immediate concession of the right of suffrage to all loyal men irrespective of birth or color, is certainly small, but it is gratifying to know that what our avowed friends lack in numbers is fully compensated by their earnestness and activity. Not content with the private advocacy of this policy, they have boldly announced it as their platform and have just formed a political association to be called the "Democratic Republican Association," on the basis of the following pledge:

"We, the undersigned, mutually pledge ourselves to support no candidate for any office, National, State, or Municipal, who is not in favor of the immediate concession to all men of equal rights before the law, and equal rights of suffrage to all loyal men, without distinction of birth or color.

A considerable number of signatures having been appended to the papers in circulation containing the above pledge, a public meeting was called to meet at the City Hall, on Wednesday evening, June 21st, for the purpose of organizing the proposed association. Calvin Pepper, Esq., was appointed Chairman of the meeting, and Mr. P. F. Schliecker Secretary. A committee was appointed to nominate provisionally the officers for the organization, on whose report the following gentlemen were unanimously and provisionally elected:

President-

Vice Presidents—Calvin Pepper, J. R. Boush, W. A. Woodbury, S. Dickinson, W. B. Bond.

- 1 mg.

Recording Secretary-C. E. Johnson.

Assistant Recording Secretary-T. L. R. Baker.

Corresponding Secretary-Joseph A. Dean.

Treasurer-P. F. Schliecker.

The Chair was also authorized to appoint a financial committee pro tem. It is evident that the white Unionists of Norfolk intend in the future to require from the candidates seeking their suffrages, something more than barren and noisy professions of Unionism, at which the recent and most doubtful converts from Secession and armed Rebellion are as good as any.

The following extract from a Richmond proslavery paper, the "Republic," will also show what is doing among the white Union men of Alexandria. Va., on the same question:

"AN ALEXANDRIA POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.—A political organization of some discontented people has been formed in Alexandria, with S. F. Beach, President, and J. M. Stewart, G. F. Watson, W. Willoughby, John Hawxhurst, and J. D. Adams, Vice Presidents; B. W. Hunter, Secretary; and William L. Jones, Treasurer. The principles of the organization are embodied in the following resolutions, which they have adopted:

1st—That it is essential to prevent the State of Virginia from coming under the control of those who have voluntarily engaged in promoting the late rebellion.

2d-That it now looks as if this control might be effected.

3d—That the right to change the fundamental law is inherent in the people, and, if not delegated, may be exercised by them at any time; and in the exercise of it all male citizens of the age of twenty-one years, who have not forfeited their rights by crime or otherwise, are entitled to participate.

4th—That the Constitution of Virginia should be so amended as to confer the right of suffrage upon, and restrict it to, loyal male citizens of the State, without regard to color; and that such amendment is just in itself, and is indispensable to a sound reorganization of the State Government."

APPENDIX B.

The Right of Colored People to Testify in Virginia.

[Extracted from the N. Y. Tribune of Oct. 4th, 1864.]

Interesting and Important Proceedings in the United States Courts and State Courts in Virginia.

ALEXANDRIA, VA., Sept. 25, 1864.

In a suit now pending in the County Court of the County of Alexandria, Va., in which Israel Graff is plaintiff, and Richard Howard defendant, Calvin Pepper, attorney for the plaintiff, and S. Ferguson Beach, attorney for the defendant, the following bill of exceptions was signed and sealed by the court, consisting of five justices, after which, by consent of the parties, a juror was withdrawn, and the case continued until the next term of the court, and still remains in that court without final decision:

"And now at this day, that is to say, on the seventh day of September, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, came the parties aforesaid, by their respective attorneys, and this case having come on for trial, the plaintiff's attorney, to prove the issue on the part of the plaintiff, called as a witness Israel Dorsey, a colored man from the State of Massachusetts, and, as stated by the attorney for the plaintiff, a citizen of the State of Massachusetts, and objection was made to his being sworn as a witness in the case on account of his African descent; this suit being be-

tween white persons, citizens of the State of Virginia. The counsel for the plaintiff did then and there insist that any colored citizen or person from Massachusetts was a competent witness in any suit in the Civil Courts of Virginia, in which white persons or citizens only are parties. But the Court did then and there decide, that said Israel Dorsey being a negro, and this being a suit between white persons exclusively, that said Israel Dorsey, although a citizen and resident of Massachusetts, could not be sworn as a witness in the case, he being a negro, and as such not a competent witness for or against white persons in the Courts of Virginia; to which decision of the said Court the counsel for the plaintiff did then and there except, and the plaintiff's attorney did then and there tender this his Bill of Exceptions to the said rulings and decisions of said Court, for the Court to sign, which is accordingly done, the day and year above written."

The action of the Court in this case is the same as that of all the State Courts and magistrates in regard to the admissibility of colored persons as witnesses, slave or free, residents of the State or from any other State, in any case, civil or criminal, in which a white person is a party, and is based upon that provision in the code of laws of Virginia which declares "A negro or Indian shall be a competent witness in the case of the Commonwealth for or against a negro or Indian, or in a civil case to which only negroes or Indians are parties, but not in any other case." This law has not been repealed or altered at either of the three sessions of the General Assembly of the restored Government of Virginia, so called, held since the breaking out of the rebellion, and the new Constitution of the State of Virginia, adopted by the Convention which assembled at Alexandria on 13th of February, 1864, is silent upon the principle involved. It was proposed in the Convention to insert as Section 35 of the Constitution, that no testimony shall be excluded from any court of the Commonwealth on account of the color of the witness, but the proposition received only three votes in its favor, one of which was that of S. Ferguson Beach, of Alexandria, the attorney for the defendant in the case of Graff against Howard. The civil State Courts themselves have been suppressed in Norfolk under the military administration of General Butler, and in all the Military Courts held in the State and in the United States Civil Courts, there is no distinction made as to the admissibility of testimony on account of color, but in the County of Alexandria, and a few of the counties where our arms have prevailed and Civil Courts of the State have been allowed to be instituted, the courts and petit magistrates attempt to carry out the provisions of this law and others of a similar nature, all of the same brood, the progeny of Slavery and born of hell, with a persistency and rigor, and such manifold wrong and oppression to the colored man, as to cry aloud for remedy, and not merely the occasional interference of the military authorities.

The case of Graff against Howard, will, if necessary, be taken to the highest Court of the State, and thence by writ of error after final decision to the Supreme Court of the United States, upon the constitutional questions involved; but in the meantime Israel Dorsey, whose testimony was rejected, has filed his Bill of Complaint in his own name in the Circuit Court of the United States, for the District of Virginia, against the Alex-

andria County Court, for a writ of mandamus to be directed to that Court, commanding them not to reject or refuse his testimony as a witness in the case of Graff against Howard, for any of the reasons or under the pretences as stated in the bill of exceptions in that case, and also a writ of injunction to restrain the Alexandria County Court from rejecting or refusing to receive him as a witness in that case until the coming in of the answer to the bill of complaint, and the decision of the court for the writ of mandamus prayed for in the bill. The complainant Dorsey claims that as a citizen of Massachusetts, and under that clause of the Constitution of the United States, which declares that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States," that he has the same and an equal right to be sworn as a witness in the State Courts of Virginia, as the white citizens of that State, subject only to the same disabilities, and that a denial of this right to him by the County Court of Alexandria was a positive wrong and grievance, a violation of a substantial, substantive right secured to him by the Constitution of the United States, which, in his case, may be enforced in the United States Circuit Court, The judicial power of the United States by the Constitution extends to all cases between citizens of the different States, and the Judiciary act of 1789 gives the Circuit Court original jurisdiction and concurrent with the State Courts in such cases, and power to issue all writs necessary to the exercise of their jurisdiction and agreeably to the principles and usages of law. A corporation, if all its members are citizens of another State, or a court of another State, may be regarded as a citizen in the sense necessary to give the United States Circuit Court original jurisdiction as between citizens of different States.

There not having been any Circuit Court of the United States for Virginia in session since the breaking out of the rebellion, the complainant Dorsey presents his petition to the Honorable John Underwood as Judge of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, for the allowance of the writ of Injunction in the Circuit Court prayed for in the bill of complaint, not to extend beyond the next term of the Circuit Court.

By the act of Congress, March 2, 1793, writs of injunction may be granted by any judge of the Supreme Court or Circuit Court that may be granted by a Supreme or Circuit Court; and by the act of February 13, 1807, Judges of the District Court have the power to issue writs of injunction the same as Supreme Court judges. His Honor Judge Underwood having the same power to issue the writ of injunction that the Circuit Court itself would have upon the bill filed and the case presented, except that it must be confined to his District, and not to extend beyond the next term of the Circuit Court, it is competent for him in deciding to allow or disallow the writ, to pass upon all the questions presented, including the merits, and his opinion will, in all probability, govern the action of the State Courts hereafter, in regard to the exceedingly interesting and important questions involved, and the whole proceeding will come to a satisfactory and happy speedy termination.

The application before Judge Underwood for the allowance of the writ of temporary injunction, came up before the Judge of the United States Court Room, at Alexandria, on the 16th inst. Calvin Pepper, of Alexandria, and ex-Governor Ford, of Ohio, now of Washington, appeared for the petitioner Dorsey, and Lysander Hill, Esq., for the County Court of Alexandria, and the Hon. S. Ferguson Beach to represent the interests of his client, the defendant in the case of Graff against Howard. His Excellency Governor Pierpont, Governor of the restored State of Virginia, the Mayor, several of the magistrates, and all the constables of Alexandria, were personally present, to see to it that no detriment should come to the Commonwealth from the proceedings being had. A numerous and highly respectable committee of the colored citizens of Alexandria, appointed at a public meeting, were present in court, and excited the respect and sympathy of all generous minded persons in the court room. The right of these colored men and that of every other colored man in Virginia to testify and to have colored testimony in their behalf, so essential to the protection of life, liberty and property, has been taken from them by the same law by which the testimony of Dorsey was excluded, and as he is contending for their rights and that of every other colored man, as well as his own, they have assumed the entire expenses of the suit, and carry it on in behalf of civil liberty and universal emancipation. The Judge remarked that he did not wonder at the interest manifested by the colored people in the questions involved, for it had come to his knowledge that but the night before a colored man had been kidnapped from Alexandria, and that the perpetrators expected to escape justice, as there were no witnesses but colored witnesses to testify against them, and that their testimony would be excluded under the law complained of. After some desultory conversation the hearing of the application was postponed until the third Monday of October, Mr. Ford stating that the case would present or could be so shaped as to present questions of momentous importance, including the powers and duties of a rebellious State in the process of reconstruction or under a provisional government, and that he wanted time for preparation, as he had been retained in the case only the day before. The Judge, in postponing the case, remarked that the question about which he had the most doubt was as to his power and jurisdiction, and requested to be informed particularly upon that subject.

The following are understood to be the principal points relied upon by the respective counsel:

It is contended by the defendant's counsel that the complainant Dorsey has no status before the Circuit Court or District Judge, he not being a citizen within the meaning of the constitution, or a party to the suit in the Alexandria County Court; that the only interests of his affected are abstract and fanciful, and not a positive right, privilege, or inmunity, for which he can seek a remedy in courts of law; that the only party who has a right to complain of the action of the Alexandria County Court in the case of Graff against Howard is Graff, the plaintiff in that suit; and that his remedy, if any exists, is confined to proceedings in that suit and in the State Courts, and that the United States Courts, or Judges, have no jurisdiction over the person or the subject matter. That a State cannot be enjoined, or the proceedings of a State Court stayed, by the United States

Courts, and that no writ of mandamus or injunction can issue to any court to arrest errors of judgment, the remedy being by appeal, new trial, bill of exceptions, writ of error, &c., and not by mandatory process to the inferior Court.

The counsel for the complainant contends that a dear and substantial right of immeasurable importance to every man and freeman, that of equality in the eye of the law, has been taken from him in violation of the constitution of the United States, that his wife may be ravished, his home burned, his property destroyed in his very presence, or himself robbed, beaten or maimed by white persons with impunity and without the possibility of the offender being brought to justice, under this decision of the Court, no matter how many colored persons may witness the transaction. That the white man's testimony is to be allowed against him even to the taking of all his property, the deprivation of his liberty, the jeopardy of his life, but he cannot be allowed to testify in his own behalf or have the testimony of others colored like himself, and must keep silence when his testimony in behalf of truth and justice may be necessary to prevent wrong and injustice to others. How can a mar, a citizen of Massachusetts, be said to enjoy equal rights, or any right—the same privileges and immunities allowed to a white ruffian of Virginia-with a law that degrades him in comparison, and places him completely at his mercy, from distinction of color merely? The right to testify is not abstract and fanciful, but real and practical, and its deprivation must have a remedy; and there must be some court empowered to make it effectual. Dorsey, not being a party to the suit of Graff against Howard, cannot cause it to be proceeded with in the State Courts, or removed to the United States Courts, his only remedy then being by bill or suit in his own behalf, to right his own wrong, and as a citizen of another State he can proceed in the United States Circuit Court. and to make his remedy effective that Court must have the power to issue the mandamus asked for, and the United States District Judge to grant the injunction, his power being coextensive with the Circuit Court in that respect, with the limitations before mentioned. That this cannot be said to be a suit in which a State is a party, and in which case the Supreme Court of the United States would alone have original jurisdiction, and then only when brought by a citizen of the same and not of another State, but a proceeding gainst a State Court of limited jurisdiction, and as between citizens of different States properly brought in the Circuit Court of the United States, and not to stay but to correct the proceedings of a State Court, so far as the same are in violation of the rights of a citizen of another State. Although a State cannot be sued by a citizen of another State in the United States Courts, yet parties, corporations, or courts acting under the authority and in pursuance of the laws of a State, may be made parties defendant, and proceeded against, and the State laws afford them no protection, if in violation of the constitution and laws of the United States. The Circuit Court having jurisdiction of the person and subject matter, it follows that it has all the coercive power necessary to make its jurisdiction effective, including the issuing of writs of mandamus and injunction to the State Courts, and this has been frequently done, not to stay proceedings

in the State Court or to suspend it in the exercise of its functions, but to prevent it exceeding its powers, and to regulate its action in conformity to the Constitution and laws of the United States. The Alexandria County Court may proceed at any time with the case of Graff against Howard, and cannot be restrained, but in so doing must not trample upon the rights of Israel Dorsey, not a party to the suit, rights guaranteed to him by the constitution of the United States as a citizen of another State. The infringement and denial of these rights is not to be regarded as an error of judgment, merely to be corrected by appeal and review in the suit and not by mandamus, but requiring a separate and independent proceeding necessary to enforce a right and prevent a wrong, and which can be done on behalf of Dorsey in no other way.

It is also claimed by the counsel for the complainant that the law of Virginia upon which the testimony of Dorsey was excluded, being but a creation of slavery, and passed for its maintenance and perpetuation, is part and parcel of the slave system, and must follow its fate, and is inconsistent with a state of freedom, and hence is not now in force or operative, by reason of the rebellion; and that the same has been abolished by the Emancipation Proclamation of the President-Alexandria not being one of the excepted counties; and also by the new constitution of the restored State of Virginia, which abolishes slavery, and by implication all its concomitants, throughout the entire State. That this and every court is bound to recognize the fact that the disabilities created by this law are contrary to the declared policy of the general government, and its principles and action in conducting the war, and restoring civil government to the rebellious States, and to cooperate with the general government in carrying out this its settled policy and convictions. Congress, at its last session, passed a law, approved by the President, and which is now obligatory upon all the courts, that in all the United States Courts the testimony of witnesses shall be received, without the distinction of color; and the same provision was also embodied in the law passed by Congress for the reconstruction of the rebellious States, which failed to receive the signature of the President, but who approved of its general principles. The attempt to enforce this law of Virginia, on the part of the so called State Courts, is so far rebellion against the United States Government, and in defiance of its dignity and authority, and should be so considered and declared by the United States Courts and Judges. It is contended that the civil State government of Virginia, if any such legally exists, is Provisional only, and that the Alexandria County Court is such only by sufferance and may be restrained and controlled by the war powers of the government, and that the United States Courts, in a rebellious State, are in duty bound to so shape their action, regardless of State laws, so far as they may contravene, as to cooperate with the general government for the suppression of the rebellion, and for this purpose may exercise extraordinary and plenary powers, if not prohibited by the military authorities, and with their consent, in preventing the improper exercise of power by the State Courts.

In this case the counsel for the complainant believe that the court and

the district judge, in the legitimate exercise of their judicial powers, as in times of peace, can grant the prayer of the complainant; but should such not be the case, that in view of the rebellion and the exigencies of the country it need not strictly scrutinize its powers or govern its action as in ordinary times, but by declaration, by advice, by obiter dictum, by compulsory action if need be, aid in the reconstruction of the rebellious State of Virginia, and its restoration to the Federal Union, upon the principles of justice, equality and advancing civilization.

[Also from the N. Y. Tribune of Oct. 22, 1865.]

Opinion of Judge Underwood on the Right of Excluding the Testimony of Colored Men from the Courts of Justice.

United States District Court, District of Virginia, in the matter of the petition of Israel Dorsey, a citizen of Massachusetts.

The use of the courts of the country and the right to give testimony in them are privileges so fundamental and important to the security of personal and domestic peace, as to make their denial one of the greatest wrongs, next to slavery itself, which can be inflicted on a human being.

If the denial is permitted, the victim may be robbed upon the highway, his house burned over his head, his wife or child ravished or murdered before his eyes, without remedy or redress. We see therefore that the right to testify in courts of justice is not only essential to personal dignity and safety, but it is the very bulwark of defence of all other individual, domestic and social rights, and that nothing but conviction of a high crime can possibly justify its invasion. The clause of the United States constitution on which the petitioner relies is the first of the second section of Article 4, and is in these words:

"The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

Alexander Hamilton, in commenting upon this clause in the 80th number of the Federalist, says:

"It may be esteemed the basis of the Union. And if it be a just principle that every government ought to possess the means of executing its own provisions, by its own authority it will follow that in order to the inviolable maintenance of that equality of privileges and immunities to which the citizens of the Union will be entitled, the national judiciary ought to preside, in all cases in which one State or its citizens are opposed to another State or its citizens. To secure the full effect of so fundamental a provision against all evasion and subterfuge, it is necessary that its construction should be committed to that tribunal, which, having no local attachments, will be likely to be impartial, between the different States and their citizens, and which owing its official existence to the Union, will never be likely to feel any biss inauspicious to the principles on which it is founded."

In the same paper he says: "There ought always to be a constitutional method to give efficacy to constitutional provisions. It will be remembered that to give effect to this very provision, and to secure the invaded rights of her citizens, the legislature of Massachusetts many years ago sent an eminent jurist, Judge Hoar, to the State of South Carolina with an appeal to the Courts of Justice. His appeal was rudely rejected, and himself and daughter by mob violence driven from that State of lawless madmen, who were then just beginning their wild rush from the crime of slavery to the kindred crimes of treason and rebellion against the best government that ever blessed the world. Noris it too much to assert that the neglect to give Practical effect to this constitional provision has been an efficient cause of the war now desolating the country.

In support of these views the case of Corfield vs. Coryell, 4th volume Washington Circuit Court Reports, pages 380 and 381, is directly in point, and would seem conclusive. Mr. Justice Washington in his opinion says of the clause in question:

"The inquiry is, what are the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States? We feel no hesitation in confining these expressions to those privileges and immunities which are in their nature fundamental. They may be all comprehended under the following general heads: Protection by the Government; the Enjoyment of Life and Liberty, with the right to acquire and possess property of every kind, and to pursue and obtain happiness and safety; the right of a citizen of one State to pass through or to reside in any other State, for purposes of trade, agriculture, professional pursuits or otherwise, to claim the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus, to institute and maintain actions of any kind in the Courts of the State, to take hold and dispose of property, real and personal, and an exemption from higher taxes or impositions than are paid by the other citizens of the State. These and many others which might be mentioned are strictly privileges and immunities, and the enjoyment of them by the citizens of each State in every other State are manifestly calculated (to use the expressions of the preamble of the corresponding provision in the old articles of confederation) the better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States of the Union."

The right to testify must be included in the foregoing enumeration as a part of the right to use the Courts, and several of the rights enumerated are certainly less vital and fundamental than the right in question.

No one who has read the able opinion of Attorney General Bates, utterly demolishing the unfortunate obiter dicta in the Dred Scott case, can doubt that colored men may be citizens of the United States and of the several States; and, indeed, all the counsel in this case seem to admit that the petitioner is a citizen of Massachusetts.

This Court has no doubt that a citizen of Massachusetts has a right to demand the protection of his oath, and the use of the Courts of Virginia or any other State of this Union, in virtue of the above quoted constitutional provision, which, like a treaty stipulation between independent States, abrogates every State law which may attempt to defeat its wise and benevolent and truly national operation.

Massachusetts may with perfect propriety say to Virginia, No matter with what wrongs, for the purpose of sustaining a bloody and barbarous system, you outrage humanity in the persons of colored men born and reared upon your own soil, I demand of you by the sacred guaranty of your constitutional obligations, that the humblest of my citizens, when a sojourner in your territory, shall be secure in all the great fundamental rights of human nature.

On the 22d day of June, 1772, the Court of the King's Bench decided in the case of James Sommersett, claimed as a slave by a Virginia planter named Charles Steuart, that "the state of slavery is of such a nature that it is incapable of being introduced on any reasons moral or political, but only by positive law. It is so odious that nothing can be suffered to support it but positive law, and therefore the black must be discharged." Such, in that celebrated case, was the language of Lord Mansfield, the most brilliant light in the constellation of British Judges who made their land immortal and raised themselves to the most sublime moral elevation by stooping to lift the lowly and crushed of their fellow citizens and to place them upon the great table land of British security and protection. It was on the argument of the same case that counsellor Davy made the never-to-be-forgotten declaration that the air of England was "too pure for a slave to breathe in."

It is time for us to say the soil of Virginia, soaked by the blood of so many martyrs of freedom, is too sacred to be ever again pressed by the footstep of a slave.

The Senator from Virginia, who, in 1850, excited the indignation of all christendom by demanding of Congress additional enactments to facilitate man and woman hunting through the length and breadth of the country, freely admitted that there was no positive law in Virginia establishing slavery, and that the system rested alone upon custom. He might well have added,

"It is a custom More honored in the breach than the observance."

How then can any one who respects the humane principles declared in Lord Mansfield's time-honored opinion for one moment regard slavery or any of its incidents as of any legal force in this State?

The court will always be ready to apply Lord Mansfield's principles to slavery and its supports and incidents, and the law in question is nothing more, and it has also the strongest conviction that the State law excluding the testimony of colored men from the courts of justice is utterly null and void, because it is entirely repugnant to her glorious Declaration of Rights, which, following the decision of Lord Mansfield, was adopted in June, 1776, as part of the Constitution of the State. Never has that Declaration been repealed, but it has been repeatedly reaffirmed and continued as the basis of every State constitution of Virginia up to and including that of 1864.

Among the provisions of that Declaration are the following:

1. "That all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society.

they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety."

4. "That no man or set of men are entitled to exclusive or separate emoluments or privileges from the community, but in consideration of public services."

15. "That no free government or the blessing of liberty can be preserved to any people but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, and virtue, and by a frequent recurrence to fundamental principles."

In the light of such guarantees the enactment excluding the testimony of any man unconvicted of an infamous crime could not be executed or tolerated for a moment by a civilized and Christian people, but for the debasing and demoralizing influence of the great abomination of slavery, which, invading every department of society, ascending even the pulpit and the halls of justice, has too successfully labored to poison and paralyze the public conscience, pronouncing itself with all the brazen impudence of the bottomless pit, a divine institution, and asserting the cruel doctrine that the dearest human rights are only skin deep, and that dusky men have none which paler men are bound to respect.

Never should the courts of Virginia deny this fundamental privilege of manhood to any innocent human being, and least of all to a citizen of Massachusetts—the cradle of the American Revolution of 1776—the first State to abolish slavery, the first to scatter the seeds of knowledge and science throughout her bounds, to bless all the people who dwell within the influence of her generous and beneficent institutions.

Had Congress clearly conferred upon this Court the necessary power, the relief prayed for by the petitioner would be cheerfully and speedily granted. But the method of proceeding in order to secure the benefit of a right fully guaranteed by the Constitution has been left in great doubt and obscurity from some cause, probably from an influence which in the future will be neither felt nor feared. With a view therefore of obtaining the aid of Congress at the approaching session, and with the hope also that the Legislature of this State, soon to assemble, may do itself and our old Commonwealth the honor of wiping the wicked enactment, excluding the testimony of colored men in any of our Courts, from our code of laws, burying it in the same grave with its barbarous twin brother, slavery, thus obviating the necessity of further action by this court, the case is put over for final action, and if desired for further argument, to the next term.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

In accordance with the recommendations in the Address, it is hereby earnestly requested that the Secretaries of all Political, Labor, and Land Associations formed among the colored people of Virginia will communicate with one of the three gentlemen named below, giving the name of each Association, the date of its formation, and the names of its officers.

The Secretaries will please address as follows respecting the

different Societies:

Por Political Associations, to

JOSEPH T. WILSON, Norfolk, Va.

For Labor Associations, to

WM. KEELING, 96 Church Street, Norfolk, Va.

For Land Associations, to

GEO. W. COOK, 21 Fox Lane, Norfolk, Va.

ALL our white friends in the State of Virginia approving of the principles of the following Pledge, will materially aid our cause by signing the same and forwarding it by post to Mr. T. L. R. Baker, Assistant Recording Secretary of the Association, at Norfolk, Va.

We, the undersigned, mutually pledge ourselves to support no candidate for any office, National, State, or Municipal, who is not in favor of the immediate concession to all men of equal rights before the law, and equal rights of Suffrage to all loyal men with-

out distinction of birth or color.

For the purpose of carrying out the principles of the foregoing Pledge, and as preliminary to organized and systematic political action, we hereby form ourselves into an Association to be called the "Democratic Republican Association," and appoint provisionally,

President, C. E. Johnson, T. L. R. Baker, and J. A. Dear, Secretaries, and P. F. Schliecker, Treasurer, of the Association, and will at once inaugurate a series of public meetings and publications, and memorialize the President and Congress, and invoke the aid of the friends of freedom throughout the State and Nation. Every person signing the declaration of principles will be regarded as a member of the Association.

Name (in full.) Occupation. Residence.

Organizations in Virginia.

UNION MONITOR CLUB, NORFOLK.

Organized February, 1865.

President, REV. WM. J. HODGES.
Vice President, JAMES MOSELY.
2d Vice President, WM. KEELING.
Treasurer, GEORGE CORPREW.
Secretary, THOS. F. PAIGE, Jr.
Assistant Recording Secretary, EDW. W. WILLIAMS.
Corresponding Secretary, J. THOS. WILSON.

UNION LEAGUE, HAMPTON.

Organized March, 1865.

OFFICERS BLECTED.

A. DUNLOP, President.

PETER SPOTSWELL, Vice-President.

CAREY HOPSOME, Treasurer.

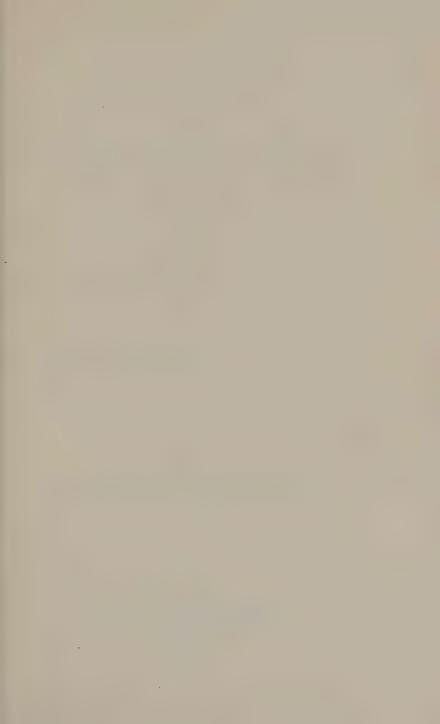
RICHARD WILLS, Secretary.

COLORED UNION LEAGUE, WILLIAMSBURG.

Organized May, 1865.

OFFICERS ELECTED.

ALEX. DUNLOP, President. H. DAVIS, Secretary.





FIRST ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

NEW YORK COMMITTEE OF VIBILANCE,

FOR THE YEAR 1837.

TOGETHER WITH

IMPORTANT FACTS RELATIVE TO THEIR PROCEEDINGS.

The cause that I knew not, I searched out.

Yea, I brake the jaws of the wicked, and plucked the spoil out of his teeth.

—Job xxix. 16, 17

PUBLISHED BY DIRECTION OF THE COMMITTEE.

For sale at the Bookstores—Price 12 ½ cents single—\$8 per hundred.

NEW YORK:
PIERCY & REED, PRINTERS,
7 Theatre Alley.

1897.



THE NEW YORK COMMITTEE OF VIGILANCE and DAVID RUGGLES

A bibliographical note by Maxwell Whiteman

On November 20, 1835 the New York Committee of Vigilance was founded to prevent the kidnapping of freemen in the North and to assist runaway slaves in every possible manner. Members of the Committee were prominent and fearless blacks who did not flinch in these dangerous undertakings. Less than a year and a half after the Committee began its work 335 persons were "protected from slavery" and the fraudulent claims of the slave catcher were contested.

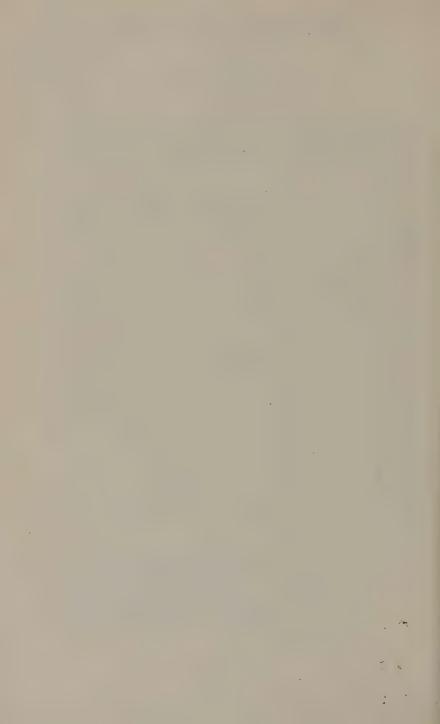
It was a matter of great pride for the Committee to regulate its own affairs no matter how hazardous. Legal measures against kidnappers were taken even though the law frequently favored the white kidnapper over the black freeman; the runaway slave was guarded and protected in the face of the shrewdest slave catcher; and the presence of slave ships that harbored their illegal cargo in the port of New York in violation of Federal law, was challenged with tenacity and courage.

The Committee of Vigilance whose respect for the anti-slavery and manumission societies was great, preferred an independent role. Two of its members, David Ruggles and John T. Reymond, because of their public defiance of the plantation owner who came North on kidnapping expeditions were in constant jeopardy. One attempt was made on Ruggles' life by the captain of a slave ship. Ruggles narrowly escaped. Reymond was not so fortunate. He was forced to return to Virginia to stand trial in a court that gave no sanction to a man with black skin.

Ruggles, the secretary of the Committee and the author of this report, was the best known of the officers which also included Robert Brown, Wallace Johnston, George R. Barker and J. W. Higgins. The report indicts the laws of Northern states which all too often leaned cooperatively to the Southern plantation owner. It is one of the most forceful examples of Ruggles' prose. In strength and style it surpasses his rebuke of Dr. David M. Reese in the Extinguisher Extinguished. Ruggles was an ideological successor of David Walker who died mysteriously in 1831 after the appearance of the third edition of his powerful Appeal. But the militant voice of Ruggles did not overlook the appeal to human conscience and to the religious spirit of man. Where these appeals failed he offered no threat on account of their failure. Cumulatively his writings show bitterness and cynicism but also a positive determination to work with the white dominated anti-slavery movement and those who demanded immediate emancipation. Ruggles attacked Christiantity for its failure to fulfill the mission for black people. But at no time did he subscribe to the view of total white culpability for the degradation of free blacks and the system of slavery.

The report is carefully documented, well organized and a basic source for the study of the neglected role of blacks working in their own behalf. The copy which is here reproduced is from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Sources: The report is not noted by Vernon Loggins, The Negro Author, His Development in America, (New York, 1931) and pioneer study of black writing in the United States. See also Ruggles, The Extinguisher Extinguished!....(New York, 1834) and Abrogation of The Seventh Commandment by American Churches (New York, 1835).



PREFACE.

The origin and object of the New York Committee of Vigilance are as follows:

At a meeting of the friends of Human Rights, holden in the city of New York, Nov. 20, 1835, for the purpose of adopting measures to ascertain, if possible, the extent to which the cruel practice of kidnapping men, women and children, is carried on in this city, and to aid such unfortunate persons as may be in danger of being reduced to Slavery, in maintaining their rights—Robert Brown, Esq. was called to the Chair, and David Ruggles, appointed Secretary.

The meeting being impressed with the alarming fact that any colored person within this State is liable to be arrested as a fugitive from slavery and put upon his defence to prove his freedom, and that any such person thus arrested is denied the right of trial by jury, and, therefore subject to a hurried trial, often without the aid of a friend or a counsellor—We hold ourselves bound by the Golden Rule of our Saviour, to aid them, to do to others as we would have them do to us. It is therefore,

Resolved, That William Johnston, David Ruggles, Robert Brown, George R. Barker, J. W. Higgins, be appointed a committee to aid the people of color, legally to obtain their rights.

Resolved, That this Committee be authorized to add to their number and to fill vacancies.

Resolved, That three members shall be a quorum at any meeting regularly called.

Resolved, That this meeting commend the Committee to the confidence of the people of color and to the liberality and support of the friends of Human Rights.

ROBERT BROWN, Chairman.

DAVID RUGGLES, Secretary.

We, the Committee appointed by the said meeting, being deeply impressed with the important and urgent nature of the duties committed to us, earnestly solicit the aid of the friends of humanity for the accomplishment of the following objects:

1. To protect unoffending, defenceless, and endangered persons of color, by securing their rights as far as practicable.

2. By obtaining for them when arrested, under the pretext of being fugitive slaves, such protection as the law will afford.

These objects are so continually pressing themselves on the notice of the friends of our colored brethren especially in the City of New-York, that we feel compelled by the dictates of humanity, and by the authority of God to exert ourselves in their behalf, and therefore we appeal to you, to aid in this work of philanthropy and Christian benevolence.

ROBERT BROWN,
WILLIAM JOHNSTON,
DAVID RUGGLES,
GEORGE R. BARKER,
J. W. HIGGINS,

Committee.

All communications may be addressed to DAVID RUGGLES, Secretary for the Committee, New York.

FIRST ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

COMMITTEE OF VIGILANCE

FOR THE

PROTECTION OF THE PEOPLE OF COLOR.

The Committee of Vigilance for the protection of the people of color, feel much pleasure and satisfaction in meeting the friends by whom they were appointed to labor in behalf of the oppressed, and would respectfully submit to them the following report of their efforts during the past year.—Your committee commenced their important labors with mingled feelings of deep responsibility and hope of usefulness, encouraged on the one hand by the cordial approbation of many of their friends, and depressed on the other by the fearful apprehensions of those, who while friendly to the interests of our colored brethren, considered our attempt as not only hazardous, but hopeless .- It is with peculiar pleasure, therefore, your committee meet you on this anniversary of their appointment, especially as none of the evils anticipated by our fearful friends, have been realized, while much has been accomplished which will, we trust, not only prove the necessity of such committees, but stimulate our friends to greater zeal in the prosecution of the good work in which they are engaged.

Before entering into a detail of their operations, your committee beg to present to your mind their views of the nature and extent of the field in which they labor, on which subject they believe much error prevails, even among our abolition friends. We have generally believed that much oppression and injustice was practised against our colored brethren; that they labored under the unholy prejudice induced on the minds of the community by the blighting influence of slavery; that they suffered many privations even as freemen. which have kept them in a state of degradation and poverty; that they have been generally a people robbed and spoiled, and trodden under foot, by those, who not only boast of the possession of liberty, but admit it to be the inherent right of every man, and still more by those who as Christians proclaim themselves the freemen of the Lord-but a more intimate acquaintance with the subject has convinced us that the view generally taken is very far short of the truth: we formerly believed that these evils arose principally from those who might be considered the base and unprincipled part of society, or men who held public opinion in contempt, or who were so accustomed to the feelings and practices of slave holders, that they could not separate a colored skin from a piece of merchandize: but we have been deceived; we find it difficult to name a class of the community, or a department in life where the colored man is not exposed to oppression, and aggravated evils which ought not to be tolerated in civilized society.

So fully convinced are we of the distressing extent of these evils, we feel assured we might have removed

a load of human suffering, the existence of which would scarcely be credited by a superficial observer. had we possessed funds and agents equal to the work. That colored people were often kidnapped from the free states was generally known-but we have found the practice so extensive that no colored man is safe, be his age or condition in life what it may-by sea and land, in slave states, or in those where colored men are considered free, in all the varied occupations of life, they are exposed to the horrors of slavery. The high prices obtained by slaveholders for their fellow men in the markets of the south, tempt the cupidity of those pests of society, the slave agents, who not only track like the blood hound, the poor fugitive through the states, but drag the freeman to bondage for the price of blood; with all the satanic subtlety of their profession they allure by a thousand false pretences their victims, or by brutal violence force them from all the endearments of their homes, to a life of toil and misery; and may not the oppressed and endangered justly claim your sympathy and your aid? Doubtless they may, and hence the necessity of a committee of vigilance to shield them from the deadly influence of slavery, even in a land of boasted liberty, where perpetual watchfulness, prudence, and firmness is required to protect the peaceful citizen from falling a prey to the ruthless grasp of southern tyranny. One class of colored persons to which the attention of your committee has been directed, and where greater facility of affording relief has existed than in most other cases, is that of slaves brought into the free states by

their masters: we find them generally ignorant of the fact, that under certain circumstances, they may claim their freedom: we feel it our duty to inform them of this important fact, and by our aid and counsel give them that assistance which may render them not only free, but useful members of society.

From the pro-slavery spirit pervading the free states, we find innumerable evils continually springing up to embitter the lot of the colored man; they are kept in ignorance, being not only excluded from the higher literary institutions, but even from most common schools, and thus denied the ennobling advantages of science, all the higher professions are closed against them; they are confined as much as possible to mean and unprofitable employments; they are exposed by their unfavorable condition to many temptations to the commission of offences which those more protected by education or property or public opinion, generally avoid, and then branded even by our judges as dangerous members of society, though truth should have preserved them from such unmerited censure, as the numbers charged in our courts bear a less proportion to the white than their comparative population.

Among other prominent evils, we cannot forbear mentioning one of no ordinary character, the fact that the laws enacted for the protection of the colored people, are continually violated, not only by men in private life, but even by our judges. When the laws of a country are equitably administered, without respect of persons, when men may appeal to the tribunal of justice with confidence of an impartial hearing,

every member of the community feels a satisfactory assurance in the possession of that portion of right which the law has assigned him, even though it be less than other men enjoy; but when courts of law are made the rendezvous of oppression, when those who are appointed to the solemn duty of administering justice, not only pander to the vulgar prejudices of society, but pollute their office by betraying the cause of the oppressed, and turn aside the poor from their right; when judges wield the power of law to subvert and destroy the welfare of their fellow men, then indeed the foundation on which the social fabric rests trembles and affords no support to the superstructure. Yet such is the state of some of our courts of law, when the colored man appeals for justice; and hence the necessity of a committee of vigilance by which he may be protected, and who may, if need be, bring to public view, and hold up to the contempt and indignation of every honest and virtuous mind, the delinquencies of such unrighteous judges; and here we stand on vantage ground. Every man capable of discerning between right and wrong, can perceive the absolute necessity of preserving the fountains of justice pure for the protection of civilized society. A corrupt judge is held in abhorrence throughout the world, and every one, from a principle of selfpreservation, unites in condemning him as a traitor to his country, a man whose memory lives but in the execration of his fellow men.

Your committee have felt it their duty to direct

their attention in an especial manner to this important subject, in relation to certain trials in this city, to which they will shortly call your attention. The labors of your committee appear to have had a very beneficial effect on the minds of the colored people generally: every one at all acquainted with the condition and feelings of our colored brethren, will admit, that there existed a listlessness, a feeling of indifference, arising perhaps from several causes, but certainly owing in a great degree to the apparently remote connexion between the exertions of their friends, and the urgent claims of their suffering brethren. While they admired and embraced the principles of the American Anti-Slavery Society, while they perceived their measures to be well calculated to diffuse through the community not only a knowledge of those fundamental principles, which constitute the basis of our civil and religious liberty and social welfare, but to stimulate men to act on those just and holy principles; yet they felt the operations of this committee in an especial manner to interest their hearts, and call forth the energy of their hands; while they felt the pressure of the evil under which they had so long suffered, they felt too that hope deferred maketh the heart sick; they saw their friends snatched from them by the merciless hand of the ruffian or gentleman slave holder; they found the judge a ready agent to stamp the villany with the seal of law; they found the great mass of society look on, if not with approbation, at least with unconcern; they saw their friendless brother of the South, who dared to escape from the grasp of tyranny,

seized as a felon, and chained and driven back to torture and hopeless bondage for life; they heard the cry of millions throughout the States go up to heaven, How long, O Lord, wilt thou not avenge our blood, while their cry excited only the scorn and contempt of their oppressors, and they saw on the side of the oppressor the unrighteous statutes of the land, and the powerful prejudices of society, and the iniquitous practices of the church, and the commercial interests of the world: while but few instances of benevolent exertion appeared to relieve the gloom that surrounded them. While there existed no organized body of men who would stand as a refuge for the oppressed, as a rallying point, a centre of action, they found the assistance too uncertain, and their ultimate success too insecure to engage them in those strenuous exertions so requisite to the attainment of any important object. We all know by experience the powerful effects of sincere friendly co-operation in any enterprise, and especially when the mind has been previously depressed by long continued suffering, this friendly co-operation they needed, and never did a people respond more cheerfully, or more promptly to the call of their friends, than our colored brethren in this important work; they feel it to be emphatically their work: every kind and benevolent feeling of their heart is called into exercise, every principle of humanity and honor, and even of self interest is aroused. No man that loves his brother or feels for his suffering fellow man, would stand aloof from this enterprise of benevolence; but what colored man, who

knows the peculiar evils to which his brethren are exposed, will not rejoice to bring to their aid every resource within the range of his influence? and thus indeed we have found them efficient coadjutors. To them we have been principally indebted for funds, in them we find steady and uniform agents, and by their exertions, we trust this work will not only spread extensively in this city, but throughout the states. But while we thus commend the liberality of our colored friends, we must beg all others, and especially the abolitionists, to remember that we need their aid, their counsel and their contributions. We have, through the past year, been laboring not only without the assistance of many of our friends, but in the midst of their fears, and under the additional disadvantage that the subscriptions we need are generally supposed to be in behalf of the Anti-Slavery Society, to which our friends already subscribe. Many do not appear to distinguish between the two operations, but imagine if they subscribe to the one it is sufficient; but in no respect do we derive advantage from such contributions, having no connexion with the Anti-Slavery Society, and consequently need funds exclusively for this object; and indeed we may confidently appeal to the advocates of immediate emancipation for their aid, on the ground of mutual co-operation. How can the noble principles of the Anti-Slavery Constitution be more consistently brought into operation. than by the exertions of this committee! How often has the taunt of the enemy been thrown-what good do you do for the colored man? you talk of his right

to freedom, you condemn the prejudice existing in the minds of men against him, you disturb the tranquillity of the slaveholder, and render the lot of the slave more miserable, by your wild speculations; but what relief do you afford him, and what exertions do you make to alleviate his sufferings? In reply to these vain words, we say, as cordial adherents to the principles of immediate emancipation, let him come within the reach of our hand, and he shall rise to liberty and peace, and the light of truth, and the blessings of social life. We wish to bring into operation the principles of the Anti-Slavery Constitution in detail, in every individual case that may come within the sphere of our influence. To effect a mighty revolution, such as the general abolition of slavery, requires agents, and funds, and time, and influence, proportioned to the magnitude of the work; but while we long and labor for the accomplishment of this noble cause, let us not lose sight of the minor evils, which tend in the aggregate to make up that monstrous system of iniquity; let us in every case of oppression and wrong, inflicted on our brethren, prove our sincerity, by alleviating their sufferings, affording them protection, giving them counsel, and thus in our individual spheres of action. prove ourselves practical abolitionists.

Since the commencement of their labors, your committee have directed their attention to the following subjects:

1st. The arrival of persons (needing their aid and counsel) from the South and other parts.

2d. The arrival and departure of vessels, suspected as slavers, or having persons on board claimed as slaves, or who were in danger of being kidnapped and sold.

3d. The arrival and proceedings of slave agents and kidnappers.

4th. The arrest of persons claimed as fugitive slaves.

5th. The abduction of persons by kidnappers.

6th. The recovery of persons detained in the South.

7th. The recovery of property due to colored people by wills, &c.

In the prosecution of these subjects, your committee have had occasion in several instances to appeal to courts of law, although they have determined to avoid as much as possible that course, being conscious, that they labor under many disadvantages in such appeals, and at the same time fully aware, that they can better secure the welfare of those they wish to aid, by their private exertions.

The persons referred to arriving in New-York, may be classed as follows: first, persons brought as domestic slaves; second, persons escaping from the oppressive laws of southern States lately enforced against free people of color; third, persons who may have been slaves, and take refuge in the free states from the horrors of slavery. Those brought as domestics, are often kept a long time as slaves in the free states. It is a very prevalent error that there are no slaves in this state. But your committee have found many instances of persons having estates in the South, who

reside here, and keep slaves in defiance of the laws of the states. In the city of New York alone, these slaves must be very numerous, and we find it a common practice to remove them after a residence of several years to the South, and dispose of them as slaves in the markets. These servants are free by the laws of New York; nor do we hesitate to say, that it is the duty, not only of your committee, but of every citizen, to inform them of that fact, and to aid them in securing their freedom. Among this class, your committee have happily been the means of effecting much good; in some cases appealing to the slaveholders, and obtaining regular manumission, and in others obtaining the admission of the master that the servant was free by law; and in all the cases which have come under our care, the accomplishment of our object, the liberty of the slaves, and their ultimate protection and safety.

Of the second class persons, fleeing from the oppressive laws of southern states, we would observe, that multitudes are now driven from the South, not only by the outrage of Lynch committees, but by the operation of the acts, passed in Virginia and some other states, for the expulsion of free people of color. These unfortunate refugees are generally unable to secure the little property they possess, are compelled to flee for safety in haste, and often without free papers. The design and tendency of these inhuman laws is, evidently, not only to secure the peaceful tenure of those who are now in bondage, without the dangerous example of freemen of color in a land of slaves, but also to reduce as many of the free as pos-

sible to slavery. Why the oppressive haste with which they are driven out? because they are liable by law to be sold as slaves if they do not escape by a given time, and we have proofs of their being thus sold; and not only so, those who flee are not secure. What means the numerous slave agents prowling over the free states? To find fugitive slaves? Aye, and to find fugitive freemen. These friendless strangers are well known to their ruthless pursuers who drove them out; they know their former place of residence, their circumstances, the names and ages of their family, the time of their removal, and every item necessary to substantiate their claim to them as slaves before our pliant judges; and as these poor people can obtain no trial by jury, can appeal to no higher tribunal, they may fall victims to the cruelty of the slaveholder, by the fiat of a single judge on exparte evidence, a process that could not in common law secure the recovery of a dog. Many cases of this description have come to the knowledge of your committee, but as it is desirable to give a few facts in proof, we will cite a case lately before the public. We refer to the kidnapping of Peter John Lee, of Westchester, by a southern slave agent, aided by several officers of the city of New York. It is true they did not condescend to bring their victim before a judge, fearing probably the production of free papers; but it appears by the account given by his distressed wife, now residing in this city, that they were driven from Northampton, Va., some years ago, by the violence of the slaveholders of that place, who were determined to expel all free

colored persons. The following facts go to establish the truth of our assertion, respecting the operation of law and Lynch outrage against the free people of color at the South:

FREE BLACKS AT THE SOUTH.—We are informed by a person from the South, that measures are spoken of there, to expel the free colored population, by the imposition of such heavy taxes upon them, that they will be obliged to remove. Should this policy be adopted, it will operate to the great disadvantage of those who may be driven away by it, and who will be obliged to seek in other States a domicile that will hardly be allowed to them.—Philad. Gazette.

And in the item which follows, our readers will see the work of extermination is now begun. What are we coming to? Where are

these things to end?

REPUBLICANISM.—A public meeting held in Brinkley's District, Somerset County, Md., on the 2d inst., adopted, among others, the fol-

lowing resolution:

Resolved, That all free negroes who shall not leave the said District on or before the 1st day of September next, shall be considered as insurgents, and as opposed to the good order and well being of the white citizens thereof.

THE THREAT ABOUT TO BE EXECUTED.—The Cambridge (Md.) Chronicle, of August 27, referring to the meeting at which the above

resolution was passed says:

We noticed the meeting at the time; but supposing it owed its origin to an excitement resulting from an exaggerated view of things, thought to hear no more of it. We were mistaken, however—it is the subject of an advertisement in Tuesday's Village Herald, setting forth that the resolutions adopted at the meeting will be carried into effect—that the free negroes remaining in the district will be expelled. Both the tone and the style of the advertisement seem somewhat calculated to excite surprise. We certainly did not expect such an emanation from any part of Somerset, knowing the deferential regard she has uniformly paid to the laws; and we would be slow to believe that the publication in question, which concludes in the following exceptionable manner, could receive the sanction of any considerable number of civizens.

"Judge Lynch will be in the district on the last day of this month (August) in order to commence his judicial services—we trust his associates will not be far behind him, as we presume his Judgeship will be crowded with business: we sincerely wish, however, that the free negroes (poor human creatures!) will not trust their cause to the ven-

erable Judge, but make their escape before he arrives; for he will be compelled to do his duty, notwithstanding any law, custom, or usage heretofore practised in any of the courts of this state to the contrary."

THE EFFECTS OF SLAVERY ON THE FREE COLORED PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH.—Mary Morgan, of No. 59 King-street, New-York, widow of James Morgan, who died in the spring of 1834, with the small pox, says that she and her husband owned a farm of 250 acres of land in Pasquotank County, about five or six miles from Elizabeth City, North Carolina; that they had hogs, cattle, and horses, and were well to live; that hey were both born free, as were both their parents; that as many as six or seven years ago [before they had been provoked to it by northern abolition] a number of the lower class of the whites went about the country to disturb the free colored people; that they frequently came into their dwelling, broke their table, and cups, and saucers, and beat James Morgan a number of times, sometimes with a club, at other times with a cowhide, and at one time so severely that

his life was despaired of.

Some of the better class of whites called at the house, and said they thought he was so badly hurt he could not live. For a fortnight after, he was not able to cut a stick of wood. Seven places on his head were shaved to put on plasters, and his back and legs were also much bruised. So frequently were they attacked, that they had to leave their dwelling more than one hundred times, often in showers of rain. At one time, Mary was put on horseback, behind one of the ruffians, who rode off violently for about a mile, took her off, and placed her in a mud puddle up to her waist, in a dark night, and there left her to get out as she could. These things happened so frequently that the Friends, commonly called Quakers, (who were really friends to them,) advised them to sell their property and come to the North. Those who caused them to suffer, gave no other reason for their conduct, than that they were free negroes, and ought to go to the North, and that there was no law for free negroes in Carolina. Joseph Elliott, Thomas Elliott, and Aaron Elliott, of the society of Friends, were their near neighbors, and were often very kind to them, and did their best to prevent the abuse. Miles White, a merchant of Elizabeth city, knows this statement to be true; other free colored people of that neighborhood suffered pretty much in the same way. They came to New-York, where her husband was taken sick, and died; Mary and the children were taken to the Almshouse, where they staid about seven weeks, and were then turned out, penniless, and had it not been for the charity of some humane persons, they might have perished from want.

The farm in Carolina was sold for the small sum of \$350, which was soon eaten up by the expense of coming to New-York, and the

maintenance of the family while here.

Ommany Morgan has to support, by day's works, five small children. The friends of the oppressed, who have any sympathy to spare, will do well to render her some assistance—at least, by furnishing her with work. No. 59 King-street is her residence.

Of the third class, those who escape from slavery, we have had numerous instances. As the individuals we refer to had not been claimed or proven slaves by legal process, we have felt it our duty to aid them, by securing them the means of support by their own industry, and thus rendering themselves useful members of society. And here we would take an opportunity to express our decided approbation of that feeling so generally prevalent in the free states; a feeling of disgust at the inhumanity of those who would send back the fugitive slave to the chains and scourgings of the task-master. There are few men so hardened against the claims of our common humanity, so utterly lost to the sympathy of nature, as to aid the slave agent in his work of blood. It requires those extraordinary samples of human depravity, which have lately disgraced our city, as police officers and judges, to accomplish such deeds, at which the mind naturally revolts. We find few men, even among those who would tolerate slavery, so destitute of feeling as to justify such acts, much less to aid in the perpetration of them.

The following account of the trial of Abraham Goslee, an alleged slave, will illustrate the nature of the justice and impartiality with which the Recorder of New York treats the colored man when charged with the crime of stealing himself:

THE SLAVE CASE—MOCK JUSTICE!—THE HABEAS CORPUS PROSTITUTED TO THE PROSTRATION OF LAW AND THE SUPPORT OF SLAVE-RY!!—THE CITY RECORDER THE TOOL OF SLAVEHOLDERS!!!—We have been furnished with the following report of the proceedings in this case, by Mr. Thomas Warner, reporter for the Daily Advertiser in this city. The proceedings took place before Richard Riker, Esq., Recorder of the city, beginning Aug. 29, and occupying the attention of the Court, by adjournment from time to time, eight days. We give these proceedings as an illustration of the kind of justice which colored men get at the hands of the Recorder of this city. They will amply repay an attentive perusal. The latter part of the proceedings—the issue of the Habeas Corpus, for the express purpose of defeating the law, and sending a human being into hopeless slavery, is exactly in character. The Evening Post, speaking of the account of this part of the proceedings, published in its columns, says:

"The subjoined account of one of the tricks of the individual who officiates as Recorder of this city, is worthy of the special attention of our readers. It is difficult to speak in measured terms of such a gross prostitution of the forms of justice, such a shameless denial of the common rights of the parties. We hope that a legal investigation into the conduct of the Recorder will be had, and that he will be taught that he who is entrusted to administer the laws, is not himself above their

reach."

THE CASE.—Jesse Collier alias Abraham Goslee, had been arrested on the morning of Sunday, the 29th day of August, on process issued by the Recorder, in consequence of two affidavits which had been pro-

duced to him, and which were in substance as follows:

The first affidavit was sworn by the claimant, John F. Collier, who deposed, that he resided at Quantico, in the county of Somerset, in the state of Maryland; that Jesse Collier is a slave held and bound to deponent in the village of Quantico; that he was formerly bound to deponent's father, Francis Collier, now deceased; that by an order of the Orphan's Court of the county of Somerset, he (Jesse Collier) was set apart for deponent; that Francis Collier died in 1815, and that the said order of distribution was made in 1828; that Jesse was in deponent's employ until April, 1835, at which time he absconded; that he was a dark chesnut colored man, about five feet seven or eight inches high, and was about 23 or 24 years of age; that he had no particular mark or scar, and that he was coarse in his appearance and habits: that no information was received of him until April, 1836, when a Mr. Holt, a neighbor of deponent, who was in the city, saw Jesse, and wrote to deponent to that effect.

The following is the testimony offered on behalf of the alleged slave:

On the first day's examination, Samuel Hutchings, a colored man, deposed: I am a stevedore; I reside at No. 47 Oak street, and have been in this city for 28 yeasr. I have known Jesse ever since the winter before the last, when I first saw him at a store in South street, and noticed him because of his having some difficulty with another man of color, on which occasion I took Jesse's part: that difficulty occurred by the side of a stove that had fire in it, because the weather was then very cold. I am sure it was not last winter, and believe it to have been between Christmas and the end of February of the winter before last.

Sarah Medes on the same day, deposed: I live at 149 Suffolk street, and take in washing. My husband drives a stone cart. I knew the prisoner as Abraham Goslee, and have known him since last July, two years, at which time he came to board with me, and has remained with me ever since. I have lived there five years, and am sure he has

boarded with me for two winters.

On the second day, Catharine Peel, a colored woman, was sworn, and stated; I reside at No. 149 Suffolk street, in the same house with Sarah Medes. I know Abraham Goslee, and have known him since he first came to that house. I have lived there since 1833. I first knew Abraham some time in the month of July, two years since. I know he has been two winters with Mrs. Medes; the reason why I know he has been there for two winters is, because the first winter I was sick, and the Corporation gave me some wood, which Abraham helped my daughter to bring into the house for me. My daughter, who helped Abraham to carry in the wood, is 11 years of age. The dispensary doctor attended me in the January before the last, when my baby was born, and I was sick just at time. I know Abraham was there then. That child is dead and buried in Mr. Chase's burial ground. The child died the fourth of last May, and was 16 months old.

On her cross-examination, she stated: I am telling the truth, and am not mistaken. I am certain Abraham was there when my child was born, and for long before. There is a head stone or board at the head of my child's grave, which denotes the time it died. Dr. Leggett gave me an order for its funeral. I am sure Abraham is the man who was there. I have seen him nearly every morning since. I lived in the basement when I had the wood from the Alms House, which I have had for two winters, that is last winter and the winter before. I was not sick last winter, or at all events not so sick as to lay by. The child was sick last winter, and I was up several nights on account of its sickness. Abraham did not help my daughter carry in the wood last winter, although he split some for me last winter, but Uncle John helped me to carry in the wood last winter. I am sure I am not mistaken about Abraham coming there before I was put to bed.

On the same day, Dr. Stephen Browne deposed: I live at No. 8 City Hall place. I have seen the boy who is here, and who is called a slave,

I visited him in prison yesterday, at the request of some gentlemen, and examined his person, to see if he had any marks, scars or peculiarities about his person. I found a large scar on the outside of his left thigh; it seemed like the result of a burn; it had two points, and was about an inch in diameter—it seemed of long standing—it was not a cut—he has also a scar on his right hand, between the thumb and wrist, caused by an affection of the skin, and is peculiar in its nature; he may have had it for ten years, and it will last him his life time. The scar on his thigh is easily discovered. I do not know if it would strike the sight of a person who saw him naked, although it is very evident.

The next day the Recorder submitted to the counsel the following questions in writing, which he stated it was his intention should be solemnly argued before him, previous to his final adjudication of the case.

1st. After the claimant of an alleged slave fixes deliberately the time of his escape from servitude, and the alleged slave goes into his defence, can the judge, consistently with the law, allow the claimant to alter the time of his escape?

2d. Is the admission or confession of the alleged slave sufficient evidence to convict him as a slave, or does the same rule of law apply, as in cases of felony, where the confession of guilt is not sufficient, without first showing the felony to have been actually committed?

His honor stated, that he should wish them to discuss these points among themselves, and communicate the result to him, previous to his

giving his decision, which would be in writing.*

Previous to proceeding with the evidence on the third day, Mr. Sedgwick, on the part of the alleged slave, objected to the present course of proceedings which he declared to be unconstitutional, and contrary to the act of Congress. He then proceeded to read from Bioren and Du-

ane's edition, chapter 152, volume 3, page 331, as follows:

"And be it further enacted, that when a person, held to labor, in any ef the United States, or in either of the territories on the northwest or south of the River Ohio, under the laws thereof, shall escape into any other of the said states, or territory, the person to whom such labor or service may be due, his agent or attorney, is hereby empowered to seize or arrest such fugitive from labor, and to take him or her, before any judge of the circuit or district courts of the United States, residing or being within the state, or before any magistrate of a county, city or town corporate, wherein such seizure or arrest shall be made, and upon proof to the satisfaction of such judge or magistrate, either by oral testimony or affidavit, taken before and certified by a magistrate of any such state

The above questions were never argued, because the first was rendered unnecessary, inasmuch as the claimant did not alter the date of the alleged absconding. As to the second, it was found in a case which was cited from Wheeler's Criminal Cases, (a reference to which will be found hereafter) that his honor had there determined that the confessions of a slave, or a person charged with being a fugitive slave, were inadmissible.

or territory, that the person so seized or arrested doth, under the laws of the state or territory, from which he or she fled, owe service or labor to the person claiming him or her, it shall be the duty of such judge or magistrate, to give a certificate thereof to such claimant or his agent or attorney, which shall be sufficient warrant for removing the said fugitive from labor, to the state or territory, from which he or she fled."

Mr. S. contended, that if the state law was at variance with the act of Congress, the latter must be the guide—that in the portion of it which he had read, it was required that slaves who were claimed as fugitives, should be apprehended and examined, on evidence which had been taken before some magistrate of the county or place, from which they were said to have absconded, which had not been done in this case. This position, he contended, was supported and illus'rated by a case which was to be found in vol. 1st, page 383, of Wheeler's criminal cases, and was the case of one Stephen, a mulatto slave, which his honor himself had decided.

Mr. S. in further support of the propriety of such a course as the act of Congress had laid down, instanced the law relative to crime, where a jury, who had to try the matter at issue, were compelled to be persons in the vicinity of the alleged offence, and who possessed advantages consequent on their locality, and that in this case, if Jesse Collier had been first subjected to an examination at the place where it was said he had lived, it might happen that he could there prove, by his

neighbors, that he was a freeman.

The Recorder said he thought it would be dangerous to receive such evidence, as how could he in that case tell the identity of the man, whose name might be mentioned in the proceedings taken in another state? And added that he should proceed with the evidence, and would reserve the point mooted by Mr. Sedgwick, which he did not think, he said, was the right reading of the act of Congress, although Mr. S. ap-

peared to support his view with tolerable tenable arguments.

On the fourth day, after the whole of the evidence, which the claimant had to offer, had been taken, Mr. Sedgwick stated he should offer the Recorder evidence, that the man whom they now had in custody, is a free man, and proceeded to quote the law of Maryland, under which he had obtained his freedom, (vol. 3 page 234, section 6, of the laws of Maryland,) and then produced a certificate of freedom, of which the following is a copy.

"Maryland.—Whereas application has been made to me, the subscriber, clerk of Somerset County Court, by a man of color, named Abraham Goslee, for a certificate of his freedom, according to law:

I do hereby certify, that it appears to my satisfaction, that the said Abraham Goslee, is entitled to his freedom, he being the son of a free woman of color of said county. He is five feet 3 inches in height, and of a dark chesnut complexion,—he has a scar on the right hand be-

tween the thumb and wrist, and one on the outer part of his left thigh; he is about 23 years of age, and a native of Somerset county aforesaid. In testimony whereof, I hereto set my hand and affix the seal of said county court, this 12th day of June, anno domino, 1832.

[L. S.] GEORGE HANDY, CLERK,

Somerset County Court."

On resuming the case on the sixth day, the counsel for the claimant, with a view of saving further trouble, proposed to the opposite counsel, that they would prove the voluntary confession of the prisoner himself

as to his guilt, and thus dispense with further testimony.

Mr. Sedgwick of counsel for the prisoner, arose quite indignant, and stated that he had received information which had quite surprised him. The counsel on the other side, with the claimant, had undertaken to subject the prisoner to an examination while in prison, when his counsel were not present, and by thus taking advantage of him, had entrapped him into an admission.

The opposite counsel replied, that he had visited the prisoner, accompanied by Dr. Yates on Friday night, but that the admission had

been made before his arrival.

Mr. Sedgwick protested against such proceedings, and could not suppose for a moment, that they would persist in them. He wondered how they could suppose it possible that the admission of a prisoner taken under such circumstances would be considered as evidence.

It was then stated on the part of the claimant, that the officers of the City Prison, had said that Collier had stated to them, good reasons why he had run away.

The Recorder observed, that all admissions received from the ac-

cused must be entirely voluntary.

Mr. Sedgwick contended that the prisoner, under such circumstances, was not a free agent, and that it was impossible for him to make a voluntary admission while in prison. The learned counsel in support of his argument, referred to a well known principle of English law, which had decided that even a cognovit signed by a debtor in prison in the absence of his counsel, was not valid, because under those circumstances, he may be influenced by fear or hope, and cannot be said to act voluntarily or as a free agent. This principle had been recognized by the English people, who had ever been jealous of their liberties; and he was sure the Americans would never have it said that they were a whit behind the English, or that they were less jealous of their privileges. Now, he would ask them, if a simple cognovit could not be taken in prison in the absence of counsel, how could they think for a moment that the evidence of the prisoner, elicited under such circumstances, could be admitted against himself? He did not like the idea of the opposite counsel bringing forward evidence that would shock the community, by saying that they had examined the prisoner while in prison, with his claimant by, instead of his counsel.

The opposite counsel here proposed to prove the admission by the

testimony of the officers of the prison.

Mr. Sedgwick protested most vehemently against any such testimony whatever, which was said to have been given in prison by the prisoner in the absence of his counsel. Such proceedings were most unfair, and unprecedented. He therefore would protest against such a meassure, by all that was sacred, and in the name of liberty and of law. In regard to a case of felony, given the other day, his honor had decided, that the confession of a felon could not be taken without proof of his guilt. If the law did not throw its shield around the man, where was his protection? Here was a case which had been going on a considerable time; witnesses had been examined on both sides before a magistrate to whom it was referred for adjudication. But on the last day of the trial, the counsel for the claimant came forward and wished to settle it at once, by introducing the alleged voluntary admission of the prisoner himself, under the circumstances of his confinement! Here was a man under their absolute control and dominion, and they tell him while in prison that they purpose carrying him back, and that any further resistance, on his part, will meet with its proper retribution. Whether they said it or not, the very interview with him under such circumstances, amounted to the same thing: and for them to say, that admissions made as it were, under the influence of threats, were voluntary, was ridiculous. He contended that the principle was monstrous. If the testimony were admitted at all, it must be proved to have been voluntary. But for the sake of argument, supposing the prisoner to be the slave, with all the terrors hanging over him, and with the prospect of the indignation of his supposed master, what could the admission have been made for, but for the purpose of securing to himself some mitigation of punishment? Could any prisoner under such circumstances, surrounded by officious officers, acting under the direction of the claimants themselves, be said to make a voluntary declaration?

The Recorder observed, that he thought the counsel themselves, by conversing with the prisoner, might soon ascertain, whether he was the slave or not, and he felt sure, that if they felt convinced he was guilty, they would not for a moment attempt to withhold him from his master.

Mr. Sedgwick replied that he contended for nothing but what he had a clear right to in law, but he would protest that the claimant had not a right to take the prisoner away unless he could make his claim appear good, according to the forms of law, and the rules of evidence.

Mr. Corse stated that he had plenty of witnesses who would prove that

the prisoner was in this city the winter before last.

Mr. Willard observed, that from the remarks made by the opposite counsel, they evidently began to feel themselves collared up pretty closely. They had to come there that morning, and finding that they had no advantage, they were willing to allow the officers to commit perjury, by

swearing that the prisoner had made a confession; but he would ask his honor if he would take evidence under such circumstances, when

such strong inducements existed to commit perjury?

Mr. Sedgwick said he would undertake to satisfy his honor, upon every principle of law and evidence, that the prisoner was in the city of New York in the fall of 1834, and long before 1835. The learned counsel then cited a number of authorities in relation to admissions made in prison, and among others, referred to a very conclusive one in Archibald's Criminal Proceedings, page 117, which showed clearly that the confession of Collier, supposing it to be true, was not admissi-According to the statement of the opposite counsel, they alleged the prisoner was a slave. He would take them on their own ground, and show, that they themselves had proved that the prisoner's admission could not be taken; for by law, "a slave is held incapable of performing a voluntary act," and therefore, the fact of their claiming him as a slave, at once shut out the admission, supposing it to have been made. The evidence of a slave could not be taken in his favor, and by the same rule it could not be admitted against himself. He then adverted to cases in the Superior Courts of a similar nature, where the testimony had been conflicting, and which had been referred to juries for decision. During the present trial he had been requested to take measures, with a view of having it also carried before a jury, but he hoped the other party would not compel him to take further proceedings, by persisting in the course they had suggested. He concluded by wishing his honor to note his objection, which was, "That the counsel for the claimant offered the declaration from a man whom they claimed as a slave; and that a slave by law is not considered capable of making an admission, or performing a voluntary act."

His honor decided that the testimony should proceed.

On the seventh day the case was resumed by his honor, expressing it as his opinion, that the certificate of freedom which had been produced, could not apply to the man in custody, because it spoke of the man as five feet three inches, whereas the person who had been before him was at least five feet eight, and notwithstanding the evidence of Dr. Browne, he (the Recorder) could not believe that he would have grown five inches subsequent to the date of the certificate, and went on to add that if he was really free, he had no doubt that the judges of Maryland would be happy to order him to be given up, and finally that by virtue of his oath, he must and would support the Federal Constitution, which, among other things, required that persons held in service in one State, should be given up if they went to another.

Mr. Corse observed, that if the man were given up to the claimant,

it was doubtful if he ever would see Maryland.

His honor replied that the claimant had solemnly promised he would not ill treat the slave if he was given up.

Mr. Sedgwick inquired whether his honor would pin his faith to the

sleeves of the judges of Maryland.

His honor then observed, that in his opinion the certificate of freedom had either been given with a view to impose on him, or that it did not refer to the prisoner, on account of there being five inches difference in the height.

Mr. Corse then commented on the difficulty they found in getting persons to attend as witnesses on behalf of the alleged slave, on account of the Recorder having stated that he had not the power to issue a sum-

mons or subpæna, to compel their attendance.

The Court then adjourned until 2 o'clock, P. M.

On its re-assembling, it appeared that in the intervening time, a writ of "homine replegiando" had been issued on behalf of the slave, and lodged with the Sheriff, for the purpose of removing the proceedings into the Supreme Court of the State, which Mr. Corse proceeded to remark had been done because the Recorder had intimated that his present opinion was in favor of giving him up to the claimant, and as he the Recorder, could issue no process to compel the attendance of the remaining witnesses, whose evidence he Mr. C. believed would change the Recorder's views of the case. The writ in question had been issued, therefore, with a view of bringing the matter before a jury, who could be enabled to hear all the evidence.

The Recorder intimated that he had a doubt whether the Supreme Court could or would take up the matter at all or not, and went on to say that he had made out the certificate for the delivery of the slave; if the claimant's counsel would consent, he would hold it for two days, and not deliver it until the judges of the Supreme Court could be conferred with, so that it might be thereby known whether the Su-

preme Court would take cognizance of it or not.

This course was ultimately adopted.

Mr. Corse also intimated to the Recorder that if the Supreme Court refused to entertain the case, that he should then want his honor to hear further evidence before he gave up the slave. His honor, however, stated it as his opinion that he could not do that, inasmuch as the lodging of the writ of "homine replegiando" closed the case with him, and that he had no power afterwards to open it.

The proceedings of the last day took place in the Court of Sessions,

after the termination of the ordinary business.

No answer having been received from the Superior Court, the Recorder had previously given to the claimant a certificate that the "prisoner owed him service," &c.;" and authorizing him to take the former away as his slave. On this certificate being presented to the Sheriff, he refused to give up the prisioner, on the ground that the writ of homine replegiando held him responsible to the Superior Court for the person of Collier. The claimant then offered to indemnify the Sheriff

as to the consequences, but the indemnity not being considered satis-

factory, the Sheriff persisted in his refusal.

The following account of the case at this stage of the proceedings, was prepared by a legal gentleman present, and published in the Evening Post:

TERMINATION OF THE SLAVE CASE.—"The writ of homine replegiando which was issued in behalf of Abraham Goslee against John F. Collier, was served by the Sheriff. The alleged fugitive was consequent-

ly in the custody of the Sheriff.

The Revised Statutes direct that in such case he should remain in custody, unless bailed, until final judgment by the court out of which the writ was served. To defeat this object a writ of habeas corpus was issued by the Recorder, commanding the Sheriff to have Abraham Goslee, alias Jesse Collier, before him the Recorder, (not before the court,) instantly, at the Court of Sessions. The court had concluded its business. There does not appear to be any reason for returning the writ then, unless to give an opportunity to act upon it before the counsel

of Abraham could be apprised of it.

This man was brought up by the officers, accompanied by some persons attending in behalf of the claimant, and the instant they came into court, and the Sheriff's return to the writ was read, the Recorder declared that the Sheriff had no right to detain the man in custody. Mr. Sedgwick, of counsel for the alleged fugitive, rose and claimed the right of being heard as counsel for the prisoner. The Recorder decided instantly, and the man was immediately withdrawn from the court, and almost before the few words, presenting this solemn claim of the counsel could be uttered, the man was out of sight.

Mr. Sedgwick then inquired of the Recorder what order had been given, and stated that it was proper that the decision, or order, should be in writing. And he remarked, at the same time, that if the Recorder should decline to put it in that form, it was of such a nature that it would

necessarily find an imperishable record.

His honor, therefore, requested a gentleman of the bar, who was sitting in the clerk's desk, to draw an order, the man being then on his way, and in full speed towards the boat in waiting, as was afterwards learned to transport him to a vessel waiting in the change

learned, to transport him to a vessel waiting in the stream.

While the order was drawing up, Mr. Sedgwick requested the Recorder to have an entry made of the fact, that application had been made that counsel should be heard in behalf of the prisoner, and that it had been denied, which his honor refused.

The order was then drawn, with an order to the Sheriff, which the Recorder declared he would himself deliver to the Sheriff. And all this after the Sheriff had departed, and the man had been in fact delivered over to the claimant.

It remains to be seen how the writ of habeas corpus could be made to subserve a purpose the very reverse of that for which it was designed. From the nature of the case, it was necessary that the prisoner should be set free, or remanded to custody. If he was set free, no man had a right to restrain him of his liberty. If he was not set free

the Sheriff was bound to retain him in custody.

But mark, the Recorder, after the writ of homine rep'egiando was issued, had given the claimant, contrary to the statute, a certificate that it had been satisfactorily proved that the fugitive owed him labor and service, for the purpose of authorizing his being carried to Maryland. To effect the purpose of the claimant, it became necessary, therefore to get the man out of the Sheriff's custody into his own. For this, the Recorder decided that the Sheriff had no right to detain the man, and afterwards had an order drawn up as before stated to that effect.

The writ of habeas corpus referred to, must not be confounded with that of the same name issued by the Recorder in the first instance, when the proceedings were commenced. That writ is presented by the same statute which authorizes the homine replegiando. The Recorder acted under that statute just so far as suited the purpose of the claimant, and no farther. The writ of habeas corpus under which the man was delivered up finally, was a writ under the statute relating to the writ solely, or at common law. The common law knows nothing of the writ of habeas corpus, for the purpose of delivering a slave to his master.

The statute supposes the writ to be issued for the relief of the PRISONER. It was used, as has been seen, against his will, and to deprive him of liberty.

Comments would perhaps in the present state of the case, be impro-

per. The facts speak for themselves.

The public have a right to know how and for what purpose the writ of habeas corpus consecrated by its association with the history of

liberty has been employed.

Now though our doctrine to the injured is, "resist not evil," we cannot omit to expose and bear our testimony against the high handed injurers—and particularly of the City Recorder—for he, in our judgment, is the guiltiest of the whole, and most deserving of public execration. What are the facts in the case? Simply these—the higher courts, in the face of justice and of the Constitution, have declared that in this State, color is the badge and evidence of slavery, and that the colored citizen is therefore not a citizen, and not entitled to a jury trial on the question, of all others most important to him, that of his freedom. The result is, that in this city, the Recorder is the only protector the colored people have for their liberties. Sixteen thousand human beings, in this single city, thus hold their liberties by no tenure but that of the discretionary decision of the City Recorder. By the decision of the higher court, the Constitution, the right of trial by jury,

every thing essential to the eccurity of freedom, is cloven down, and the liberties of the entire mass are delivered over into his hands for safe keeping. It is only for southern kidnappers or their northern agents to assert a claim to the liberties, the body and soul of every colored man, woman, and child, in the city, and forthwith the question is tested, and the fact brought out, that it is for the Recorder to say whether they shall or shall not be free. If reckless and base enough, he may, at a moment's warning, on the testimony of kidnappers only, and without allowing the injured time, or testimony, or counsel, hurry every one of them off into hopeless and perpetual bondage. Not a free person of color in the entire sixteen thousand that may not, in the "hot haste," and reckless, and marble-hearted precipitancy of the Recorder, be plunged at once into unmitigated and hopeless thraldom.

Now, with the liberties of sixteen thousand in his hands for safe-keeping, what does the Recorder do? Is he true to the sacred trust? Does he act as though such fearful responsibilities were resting on him? A man—with the stature, form, attributes of manhood, is brought before him. A southern kidnapper makes oath that he is his slave. The man protests himself free—avers that he can prove his freedom—begs for time to procure witnesses and counsel. There he stands, the representative of sixteen thousand, equally liable to such arrest, and what does the Recorder? Give him the time, the witnesses, the counsel? Treat him as the representative of thousands whose liberties are at issue in this and every similar case? Not a word of it.

With these fearful responsibilities on him, the only days-man between the claim of the kidnapper and the bondage of the entire sixteen thousand, he proves false to his trust, joins hands with the kidnapper, gives up the man with a "hot haste" and mad indifference, and on such evidence, as make his surrender a practical surrender of the liberties of the whole. Instead of protector, he becomes the betrayer of the liberties of those he is set to guard. Now, we say, that the man who can act in such utter disregard of official responsibilities, as well as of the claims of common justice and common humanity, is the guiltiest of the guilty. He ought to be deposed from office forthwith, and covered with the shame that such treason to the liberties of the free merits.-Why, there is not a pig that grunts along the streets, that would be given up to a claimant, without giving the owner more time and better opportunity of self defence. And shall a public officer give up men, sign the death warrant of their liberties, and deliver them to hopeless bondage in this manner, and the community not wake up to the indignity and the outrage? We trow not.

IMPORTANT DECISION.—The Philadelphia "Friend," states that a recent trial of a negro man and his family, arrested as fugitive slaves, before the Supreme Court of New Jersey, has resulted in the discharge of the prisoners, and the establishment of some important principles in relation to the arrest of slaves in free States. The trial was a long and deeply interesting one. David Paul Brown, the eminent abolition lawyer of Philade'phia, and Theodore Frelinghuysen, were coursel for the fugitives. Chief Justice Hornblower expressed it as his decided opinion, that the law of Congress regulating the arrest of fugitive slaves is unconstitutional, because no power is given by the Constitution to Congress for legislating on this subject. 2. That every person, white or black, free or slave, was entitled to a trial by jury in New Jersey.—3d. That the color of a person should no longer be considered as presumptive evidence of slavery in that State.—[Essex Gazette.]

That many vessels arrive in the port of New York, with slaves illegally held, by captains and passengers, is fully established by the experience of your commit-These slaves are quite ignorant of the laws of the United States in their favor, and equally unable to avail themselves of the benefit of these statutes, if apprised of them; some of these slaves are brought direct from the coast of Africa, others from the West Indies, South America, and other foreign ports, and many from the Southern States. The ordinary course adopted by foreign captains and others, is to re-ship them for the South, where they obtain a ready market for them as slaves. In several manifest violations of the laws of the States, your committee have commenced suits in the United States' Courts, but by the influence of pro-slavery sentiments, they have failed in obtaining a verdict against the parties. Some of the more prominent cases are the following: Capt. Shallitoc, against whom a suit is still pending, has, at various times, brought Africans direct from the coast to this country, and held them as slaves. The present prosecution of this individual, by your committee, is for wages and compensation to Quasele, a native of Africa, brought by the Captain to this country, where he held him as a slave till he came under the notice of your commmittee, being found nearly frozen in the street last winter: this case is confidently expected to terminate in obtaining a remuneration for his services.

About two years ago, a passenger brought a young man from Martinique and held him as a slave in N. York. A few months since, he was about to sail for N. Orleans, and ordered the young man to prepare to go with him, but he being fearful that his master intended to sell him, applied to your committee for advice. On learning the facts of the case, they assured him he was free, and immediately took a writ of replevy to recover his clothes, and commenced a suit for his wages, which his master evaded, by secreting himself till the vessel sailed.

The brig Brilliante, now lying in this port, is a renewed proof in point. This vessel according to the testimony of several of the crew, and the evidence of several other persons acquainted with her, here and in other ports, is a regular slaver, although of smaller dimensions than usual. She brought slaves on a late trip from Africa to Rio Janeiro, and had on board five native Africans, when she was admitted to an entry in this port, the laws of the United States expressly prohibiting the introduction of these men; forbidding the vessel an entry, and rendering the captain and owners liable to a penalty and the confisca-

tion of the vessel; your committee commenced a process against the captain, and held him to bail for the offence; he was, however, released, after an exparte hearing before judges. The following statement will fully illustrate the case:

THE FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE REVIVED, AND NEW YORK A SLAVE PORT.—We have now to call the attention of our readers to one of the most atrocious perversions of justice and law, we have ever known. Corrupt as we know our courts to be, especially where the rights and interests of colored men were at issue, we had not supposed them so utterly regardless of law and of right, as they have now proved themselves to be, in the case we are about to detail.

Before entering on this case, however, we deem it important to state

the following facts:

1. Within a few months, the St. Nicholas, a suspicious looking vessel, came into this port. One circumstance after another, soon made it manifest, that she was a slaver. Complaint was lodged, in due form, with Mr. PRICE, the District Attorney. Process was issued. The evidence was deemed insufficient, and the Captain and vessel were discharged. The vessel obtained her outfit, left the port, colors flying, and in a few weeks was captured, on her return voyage from Africa, with slaves on board!

2. Still more recently, the "Brig Governor Temple," came into this port, from the coast of Gambia, with thirteen native Africans on board. Again complaint was made to the District Attorney. He was informed that there was reason to fear they would be smuggled away to the South as slaves; that three of them, on some pretence, had already been sent there, and some action was sought to secure the liberty of the others. The heartless reply was, "Well, if they have gone to the South, that's their

misfortune," and no action was taken!

3. A gentleman in this city, whose name we are not at liberty to mention, an owner of Texan lands, informed a member of our Executive Committee, a few months since, that another gentleman, in this city, also an owner of Texan lands, had, a short time previous, formally proposed to him to invest funds in a ship to go into the slave trade from Africa to Texas, assuring him that an immense profit would be realized on the investment!

4. The New Orleans Bulletin of Dec. 10, declares "on high authority, that the Texan government intends entering a formal complaint to the Cabinet at Washington, against the practice, pursued by American citizens, of introducing into their territory, in vessels belonging to the United States, negroes, coming from other quarters than this Union;

and further, that their minister at Washington, will be instructed to ask of our government, that a vessel be ordered to cruise along their coast, to prevent such introduction, and also that a small force be stationed at the mouth of the Sabine, to guard against their being landed on the coast of the United States and immediately transferred to the Texan territory"—thus publishing it to the world, that the foreign slave trade is extensively carried on from Africa to Texas, "by American Citizens," and "IN VESSELS BELONGING TO THE UNITED STATES!"

With these facts before them, our readers will not deem it incredible or strange if some "American citizens" should be found in this city, who as owners or otherwise are directly concerned and deeply in erested in the prosecution of this abominable traffic. Nor will they think it strange or unnatural that such citizens should attempt the outfit of such vessels from this port, and take every possible method, on account of the severe penalties of the law, to conceal their object, and in case of detection, to render the law, by evasion and in other ways, a practical nullity. On the contrary, it would be strange and unnatural if they did not do so, and in case of necessity, go so far even, as to attempt to put out the eye and sear the conscience and pervert the judgment and palsy the arm of judicial and executive power, by some influence behind the throne. Whether it has been so in the case to which we now invite attention, we shall leave our readers, in view of the facts, to decide.

CASE OF THE BRIG BRILLIANTE.—This brig arrived in this port December 3d. It was soon ascertained that she had five colored men on board who were slaves. One of the white seamen also, without knowing the object of the inquiry, stated expressly to Mr. Ruggles, that the brig was a regular slaver, and had come here for an outfit. Accordingly on the morning of the 10th, information was lodged by Mr. Ruggles, with the District Attorney, Mr. Price, that a brig of the above name was lying at the foot of Market street, that there was every reason to believe her a regular slaver, that one of the hands had so stated, and that there were five colored men on board, who said they were slaves, and belonged to the Mayor of Rio Janeiro.* This, be it remembered, was on the morning of Saturday, the 10th. Nothing was done on that day by the District Attorney. The next day was Sabbath. On Monday morning, Mr. Ruggles called again on Mr. Price. Mr. P. said he would attend to it. An assistant in the office directed Mr. Ruggles to get the Captain's name if he could, and added that he was going to the custom house, and would see if he could get it there. called again. The Assistant Attorney took him to the Marshall's office, and requested Mr. Rapalje, the Deputy Marshall, to attend to the case. The reply was, "I have not time to attend to it now; You have not

^{*} The slaves insisted to the last, that they belonged to the Mayor and not to the Captain.

got the Captain's name; I'll see about it; You had better call tomorrow." Mr. Ruggles said, "But she may be gone." "Well, get all the facts you can and call at my house this afternoon." This was done, and the Deputy Marshal was "not at home."

Tuesday morning the 13th, the following notice appeared in the

New York Sun.

A SLAVER IN OUR PORT.—We yesterday received a communication from a source which warrants us in making public its purport, in which our attention is directed to a vessel now lying at the foot of Market street, the name of which—though she displays none—is the Brilliante. Our correspondent states that she is from Rio Janeiro, bound to Africa on a slaving expedition, and has put in here for stores. Her captain, mate, and five white seamen, are Portuguese; and she has also on board five slaves. He also states, that his knowledge of the character of the vessel, and her present expedition, was derived from information communicated to him by one of the hands, and which is confirmed in his mind by a personal visit to the vessel, made yesterday. We do not, of course, presume to vouch unqualifiedly for the correctness of our correspondent's assertions, nor that he may not be mistaken—but we do say that we have sufficient confidence in them, to warrant us in calling the attention of the proper authorities to the matter.

This, if it did not arouse the "proper authorities" to a sense of duty, seems at least to have disturbed their tranquillity. Accordingly, when Mr. Ruggles called again on Tuesday, to see what had been done in the case, the Deputy, rather uncivilly, showed him the door! Our readers can form their own opinion of the reason. Mr. Ruggles' account of the matter in the Evening Post of that day is as follows. After stating that the "proper authorities had been acquainted with the fact, that the vessel had been in port three days," and yet taken no action upon it, he adds:

But this morning, after the "Sun" had shown upon the floating sepulchre, and exposed to the open gaze of the world, its rottenness, (containing living "men's bones and all uncleanness,") they saw the whole thing just as plain as day, and the person above alluded to was so astonished at the sight of that black spot in that luminous body "the Sun," he shut his eyes and clenched his fist, and gnashed his teeth, and said to the informant, that "vessel is in the Sun!" "go out of MY OFFICE!"

At length, in the course of Tuesday, process was issued, the Captain, Joas Evangeliste de Souza, was arrested, and for want of bail, was lodged in prison. The bail demanded was \$5000. The slaves also, but none of the other hands, were taken into custody to be used as witnesses.

On Friday, the 16th, the case came before the U. S. District Court, Judges Thompson and Betts, for decision. The counsel for the U. S.

were the District Attorney and Mr. Jay; for the defendant, Messrs. Morrill and Staples. The report of the case in the Journal of Commerce is as follows:

The case was now brought before the Court on a writ of Habeas Corpus, and an affidavit of the defendant read, which stated that he was a subject of the Brazilian Government, from whom the vessel and five slaves which he brought here had been purchased; that he came here with a cargo of coffee, wine and sugar, consigned to the house of Souza, in this city; that he arrived here on the 3d of December; that after discharging the vessel's cargo, she was taken to the Dry Dock to be repaired, and whilst there, the greater part of a cargo was engaged for her, to carry to Rio Janeiro; that since her arrival here the slaves had not been employed in any work except what their duties as seamen required; that on the 13th inst. the defendant had been arrested on the affidavit of a man named Martin, who deposed that defendant had brought slaves into this State to hold them to lubor, which defendant totally denied, and maintained that they had been brought as bona fide seamen, to load and unload the vessel and to work her at sea.

The defendant protested against his arrest as illegal, and contrary to the treaty made between the government of the United States and the government of the Brazils, dated 12th of December, 1828, which provides that the subjects of that government shall be treated on the foot-

ing of the most favored pations.

The case was ably argued by Council on both sides, after which Judge Thompson referred to the different statutes having reference to the subject, and said that the case shown by the defendant, admitting it to be true, did not come within the meaning of the laws of the United

States, which prohibited the importation of slaves, &c.

The report in the Sun states, that the Captain deposed "that he had no purpose either of disposing of them [the Slaves,] or putting them to labor here; and that he was here on a legal mercantile voyage, had taken in his cargo, and was prepared to return to Rio Janeiro. Mr. Price, the District Attorney, did not attempt to introduce any testimony in contradiction of de Souza's deposition, nor oppose the motion of his counsel; and their honors deciding that there was no ground for his further detention, ordered him to be discharged.

We have taken pains to examine the Captain's deposition, which is on file in the Clerk's office, that we might assure ourselves of the correctness of the reporters; and we find, that he deposes that his vessel was consigned to the house of "L. C. A. De Souza" of this city, that the slaves, whose names are Antonio, Demingo, Jose, Joas and Pedro, "form a part of the crew of said vessel, and are continued on board for no other purpose than performing the duties obligatory upon them as the property of deponent, and further that said slaves were not brought into the United States, in this state, from any foreign kingdom, place or

country, or from sea, with any intent to hold the same to service within the United States, or in this state, or to sell or otherwise dispose of, but

only as bona fide seamen and as the property of deponent."

Our renders will see that the specific charge, on which the Captain was arrested, was, not that, in the language of the law, he had brought these men here "with intent to hold, sell them, &c." himself, "as slaves," &c. but that he had done it "with intent to hold them to service" simply, "or to sell," &c.

The decision of Judge Thompson was as follows. The passages in brackets have been inserted by ourselves, to show that if the decision or the arrest had been according to the letter of the law, the Captain must have been convicted. Whether the intent agrees with the letter remains to be seen.

UNITED STATES' CIRCUIT COURT.

The United States, vs.
Joas E. de Souza.

Opinion of Judge Thompson,
Dec. 16, 1836.
On motion to discharge the prisoner.

The persons brought in here are admitted to be slaves and negroes; and throughout all the slave laws no other persons but negroes or mulat-toes are mentioned.

The argument therefore as to white slaves is out of place. The captain swears he is a Brazillian; that the persons spoken of are his property and slaves, that he came here from Brazil, temporarily, intending shortly to return and take his slaves with him, does not intend to hold them here [as slaves or] to service or labor himself, or sell or dispose of them [as slaves] to another [or to be held to service or labor by that other] which is not denied on the other side.

The treaty has nothing to do with it.

We think that the 1st section of act 20th April, 1818, has an important bearing on the 6th section, and that the 8th section of the same act has the same bearing on the 6th section. Nearly the same phraseology is used in the 1st section as in the 6th, and amounts to an absolute prohibition. The only difference between the phraseology of the 1st and 6th, are the words, "or from sea."

The 1st section makes it unlawful "to import or bring into the U. "Stares, &c. [in any manner whatsoever] any negro, mulatto, or per"son of color with intent to hold, sell or dispose of any such negro,
"mulatto, or person of color, as a slave, or to hold to service or
"labor," &c.

The 6th section makes it unlawful "to hold, sell, or otherwise dispose "of any such negro, mulatto, or person of color, so brought in as slaves," &c. That is to say, brought in as described in the 1st section, "with intent to hold, sell, or dispose," &c.

If this vessel is here only temporarily, and these men seamen on board, they certainly do not come within the provision of the 1st and 6th sections of this act.

And the 8th section favors this construction, to wit: "That the "negro, mulatto, or person of color which he shall be charged with "having brought in, or with purchasing, holding, selling, or otherwise "disposing of, and which, according to the evidence of the case, the said defendant or defendants shall have brought in as aforesaid," &c.—That is say, brought in as described in the 1st section, "with intent to hold, sell, or dispose," &c.

We think, without going deeply into the subject, that under the circumstances in this case, there is no bringing in, no holding, and no

selling, &c., within the meaning of the act.

The Captain must therefore be discharged.

This was on the 16th. The same day Mr. Rapalje, Deputy Marshal, went to the debtor's prison and informed the keeper, Mr. A. B. Fointain, that the five colored men were discharged, and were to be no longer detained in custody on the authority of the United States.—But the keeper kept them in prison through that and the four succeeding days! At length, late on Tuesday afternoon, Dec. 20th, four individuals, of whom the writer was one, went to the keeper to inquire into the cause of their detention, when the following conversation, in substance, ensued:

Inquirers: "Are the five colored men, brought up as witnesses in the case of de Souza, still in prison?"

Keeper. They are.

I. By What authority do you detain them?

K. The authority of the Sheriff and the Marshal.

I. But how can that be—the case has been decided, and they, as witnesses, must be of course discharged?

K. I know that, but I have received no notice of their discharge,

and I cannot let them go until I do.

I. You hold them then by virtue of the original commitment, as witnesses in the case of de Souza?

K. I do; and I cannot let them go without some authority.

I. What authority is necessary?

K. Oh, a note from the Sheriff or the Marshal, or the District Attorney, saying that they are discharged, will be enough.

I. And if we get you such a note, will you let them go.

K. I will.

No sooner said than away we hastened to the office of the Sheriff. He said they were not there by his authority—he had nothing to do with them—the Marshal or the District Attorney were the persons to apply to. Away we went to the office of the District Attorney—not in. A young man it, the office, said they were discharged on the original

commitment, but he believed they were now detained by request of the Captain, as his property, and on authority of Mr. Rapalje. Up we went to Mr. Rapalje's office—not in—and as it was now evening, it was agreed to let the matter rest until morning. On Wednesday morning, two individuals called on Mr. Rapalje, and the following dialogue, in substance, ensued:

Inquirers. Sir, feeling somewhat interested in the case of the slaves, arrested as witnesses in the case of de Souza, and finding that they are still in prison, we have come to inquire by virtue of what process

they are detained?

Mr. Rapalje. I cannot tell you. They are discharged on the commitment in that case.

I. The keeper of the prison says they are not.

Mr. R. They certainly are, for I went to the prison and told him

so myself, last week.

I. He told us himself, yesterday afternoon, that he had received no such notice, and that he still detained them on the original commitment.

Mr. R. I do not see how that can be. Did'nt you see the turn-

key?

I. No, sir. We are sure it was the keeper, and he told us if we would get a note from you, saying that they were discharged, he would release them.

Mr. R. I will give such a note, if you wish.

I. It will oblige us if you will. Mr. R. Sit down, gentlemen.

The note was written, and was as follows:

U. S. MARSHAL'S OFFICE, Dec. 21st, 1836.

To the Keeper of the Debtor's Jail in New York.

Sir,—The five witnesses, confined in the debtor's jail, on account of the suit of the U. States against J. E. de Souza, were discharged by me from custody, on the 16th inst., verbally in your office.—You are not to consider the United States bound for their maintenance since that time.

S. RAPALJE,

Deputy U. S. Marshal.

(Superscribed) A. B. Fointain, Esq.,

Keeper of the Debtor's Jail in New York.

With this we hastened to the prison, found the keeper, presented the note, and asked for their release.

Keeper. I cannot release them.

Inquirers. But why not? You said yesterday you would, if we

would get you such a note from the Marshal.

K. I know, (with a blush, and some embarrassment) but since you were here, the Captain and the Consul have been here, and I am keeping them now for them.

I. Ah-but have you any authority for doing so?

K. Yes, the authority of the Captain and the Consul.

I [After some effort to get a definite answer.] You hold them, en, simply on the request of the Captain and Consul, and not by virtue of any legal process or authority?

K. Yes.

I. And you will not let them go, will you?

K. No.

I. But have you a right to appropriate the prison to such uses without authority?

K. I shall risk it (with considerable feeling.) They said they would

make me good.

We of course left the premises. In the course of the day a habeas corpus was issued to the keeper, to show cause for their detention, but when about to be served the next morning, it was found that he had resigned his charge, and that they were then on board the vessel.

Subsequently, another habeas corpus was issued to the Captain, to show cause for their detention on board the vessel, the object of which was, not to convict the Captain, but to secure the liberty of the slaves. The case was brought before Judge Ulshoefler, who decided that under the State law, slaves might be brought into the State, not only from the southern States, but from foreign countries, and kept here nine months, and then taken away. He said that the act of Congress, of 1818, prohibited only the bringing of slaves in to sell them, or to hold them as residents -that this country was not like England-that we did not interfere with the laws of other countries—that a master of a vessel might go to a foreign country where slavery was lawful, and man his ship with slaves, and bring them here and keep them eight months and twentynine days, and then take them away." Of course, the Captain was discharged, and the slaves were left in his possession. The decision was not committed to paper, but these remarks were taken down with a pencil, by the writer, at the time.

Such are the leading facts in this important case. We come now to the work of comment. In doing so we are aware that we shall be regarded by many as very presumptuous, and disrespectful withal to the constituted authorities. Some even may charge us with "speaking evil of dignities." To be sure, on other subjects and in other cases, nothing is more common, and nothing considered more proper than to question, expose, and censure the doings and decisions of public functionaries. This is done, at all times, by any body and every body, and with the utmost freedom of remark, however trifling or unimportant the interests at stake. And that public functionary who should complain of this as abusive and disrespectful, would be the scorn and contempt of the entire community. But when the rights and interests of the colored man are concerned—ah! now the public functionary is

clothed with infallibility, to question or censure his doings and decisions is little short of blasphemy—the community are well nigh horror struck at such astonishing rudeness, and it becomes you most reverently to lay your hand upon your mouth, and be still! Such at least is the fact with multitudes. We shall not, however, be kept back, by any such feeling, from the discharge of our duty. We mean to know the colored man, not as colored, but only as a man; and therefore, in the present and every similar case, we shall vindicate his cause, and expose and condemn the doings and decisions of public functionaries with the same unsparing freedom that we would, if the party aggrieved were white, and if, in so doing, we, at any time do injustice to any person concerned, we shall ever be ready, on due information, to make the proper corrections. In the present case, the first topic of remark, in order, is

THE ISSUING OF THE PROCESS.—The act of Congress, of 1819, declares, "That when any citizen, or other person, who shall lodge "information with the Attorney for the district of any State or Territory, that any negro, or mulatto, or other person of color, has been imported therein, contrary to the provisions of the acts in such case made and provided, it shall be the duty of said Attorney, forthwith to

"commence a prosecution by information."

This is plain. No man can mistake it. It makes the Attorney's duty

as specific and imperative as law could make it.

A responsible informer before him, ready to make oath to a violation of the "acts made and provided" in the case, and be he "any citizen or other person," the Attorney must not only hear, but "commence prosecution," and not only so, but do it "forthwith," and that, simply on "information." He may not say to the informer, come again, or I have no time to attend to it now, call to-morrow. The solemn mandate of the law is "forthwith"—" FORTHWITH"—NOT THREE DAYS HENCE, AND DRIVEN TO IT BY EXPOS-URE IN THE PUBLIC PRINTS! Nor, in case of such delay, may the Attorney pl ad, as now, that he wants more facts-the "captain's name." &c. The informer before him, ready to make oath that a certain individual, the captain of such a ship, lying at such a place, &c." is guilty of such a violation of the law, is enough. name must be had-and that in the present case is the only item mentioned as wanting-why not send "forthwith" to the custom-house and get it? And why especially, with the name still wanting, take the informer to the Marshal's office, and request him to attend to the case? And suppose it utterly impossible to get the name, either of ship or captain, with full proof that the one is a slave trader and the other a slaver, shall they bid defiance to the law, and come and go with impunity, for want of the name?

And as to the "information" it is not for him to say, whether it be correct or incorrect, whether it will or will not stand the test of the court, and condemn or acquit the person implicated, and then, according as he shall decide, commence or not commence prosecution. To do so, is to act the Judge and not the Attorney—to take the whole power of the law into his own hands, and decide the case beforehand, and without even the form of trial. It is usurpation, therefore, of the most atrocious character. It is an abuse of power and a stretch of authority, that ought, and in ordinary cases would unbench the Judge himself. The informer before him, the information lodged, and be the informer "any citizen or other person," and the information correct or incorrect, capable or incapable of being substantiated by evidence, his duty as Attorney is "forthwith to commence prosecution, by information." And if it turns out that the information is incorrect, and the charge incapable of proof, very well, that is for the Court to decide and

not the Attorney.

Is it said that such a construction subjects the captain and owners of vessels to a thousand perplexing and vexatious prosecutions, at the ignorance or caprice of any and every body. How so? There stands the informer—a responsible informer. There are the laws and the courts. The captains and owners are able to secure redress. Their ignorance does not subject them to imposition on the one hand, nor their poverty put justice beyond their reach on the other. It is as easy to prove the fact of vexatious prosecution in this case as in any. If the fact of vexatious prosecution then be evident, let the requisite process issue, and if the informer is proved guilty, let the law take its course, and by the severity of its inflictions, make his example a terror to evil doers. But there is another side to this picture. It this construction subjects captains and owners to inconveniencies, what shall we say of the opposite—a construction which exalts the Attorney into the Judge, and above the law, lodging a power in his hands, by which, at discretion, he can make the law a practical nullity, and leave the poor negro the unprotected victim of outrage and oppression? If the one subjects to inconvenience by the first construction, what multitudes suffer not. inconvenience merely, but the loss of all things by the latter? Nav. if such discretionary power exist, who does not see that while, in the hands of an Attorney in their interests, it may administer protection to captains and owners, in the hands of another, not in their interests. it may deal out perplexity and inconvenience without limit and without end?

Nor may the Attorney dictate in regard to the kind of information, and by consequence the kind of process that shall issue. He may indeed tell the informer what is necessary to make a case under the law, and fairly test the question of violation, in the particular point or points alledged. He may tell him, if he please, that he does not think his eri-

dence sufficient to substantiate the charge. He may even advise him not to enter complaint. But, if with the case thus fairly before him, the informer still insists on entering complaint, the Attorney has but one course to pursue—receive it and commence prosecution according-And in so doing, all that he is at liberty to do, and that which he is solemnly bound to do, is to see it, that the complaint is so framed as to ensure a process that will fully test the question of violation in the particular point or points alleged. On the one hand, he may not allow the informer to lodge any complaint short of this. If the informer's facts do not warrant such complaint, very well. He must enter it or none, and if he does so, he does it with his eyes open, and the responsibility is his, not the Attorney's. And much less, on the other hand, may the Attorney reject such complaint, and direct the informer to file his complaint in such a shape as to ensure an evasive process. and make up, before the court, an evasive issue. And more than all, if the informer wishes to enter complaint which shall test the question of violation, not in one point merely, but in several, then especially must the Attorney not reject such complaint, and direct him or some other person to file a complaint that will test it only on one point, and that perhaps the very point, and the only one on which the person implicated is innocent.

What then are the facts in the present case? Mr. Ruggles wished to depose that the vessel in question was a regular slaver, the captain a slave trader, and the slaves on board, slaves unlawfully introduced, and he supposed he could substantiate these charges by indisputable evidence. And who does not see that in testing the question of a violation of the law in either of these points it was all important to test it in all? And had it been proved in court, as it was admitted, by one of the hands on board, out of court, that the vessel was a slaver, and had come here for repairs, &c., would the captain's deposition only have cleared him? or would the court have decided that since the slaves on board were here only as a part of the crew, they were here lawfully? Never.

But was Mr. Ruggles' deposition taken, and prosecution commenced, and process issued accordingly? No—rejected! What was the matter? Was the fault in the informer? No, but in the kind of information he wished to lodge, for he is expressly requested to make affidavit of a different character. The only difficulty is that he wishes to lodge information of such a kind as to test the question of violation in several particulars; and the District Attorney, in the exercise of shameful and high-handed usurpation, insists that it shall be tested only in one, and that the one, as will appear, in which, if in any, the plea of "not guilty" could be sustained. What next? One Martin is called on to depose. Now, sir, says the Attorney, (if actions speak,) give attention. Lodge such information with me as I tell you to. Say not a word implicating the vessel, or the captain even, except on one point—not a word about

the ship's being a slaver—nothing in any shape that will bring up that point for examination—limit yourself to the one point, that the captain has brought the colored men in contrary to the law. Do you understand?

Martin. Aye, Sir; but in deposing to that point, am I to depose in

terms as explicit and broad as the law?

Attorney. O no. Not at all. The law makes it unlawful "to import or bring in any manner whatsoever, into the United States, &c. any negro, &c., with intent to hold [him "as a slave"] sell [him "as a slave"] or dispose of him as a slave, or to be held to service or labor? Now, as we know that the captain did bring these men here "with intent to hold them as slaves," and is actually at this moment so holding them, you will say nothing about that, but only that he brought them here "with intent to hold them to service,"—and as it may put a little better face on it, just add, if you will—"or sell them"—do you understand?

Martin. No, your honor, it somehow seems-

Attorney. Ah-no matter-no matter-we understand the case.

Please depose as we tell you, or not at all.

Martin deposes, a partial and evasive issue is made, and the captain

goes free.

It is said in all this we are mistaken, that the complaint as actually received, and the prosecution as actually commenced, and the process as actually issued, were all that they needed to be, in order fully to test the question of violation, and that in all we have said, therefore, we have only shown our ignorance of law? Very like. We do not pretend to be learned in the law. We have nothing but common sense to guide us in the case. But if they were all they should have been, then we ask how it came to pass, that Mr. Price, the District Attorney, "did not attempt to introduce any testimony in contradiction of the captain's deposition, nor oppose the motion of his counsel," for his discharge? Here is a law enacted by the supreme authority of the land, against a crime of the most aggravated character, inflicting the severest penalties on its violators, so enacted and amended and re-amended, as to prevent, if possible, all evasion-nay, as if this were not enough, even setting aside the common law maxim of innocence until guilt is proved, and laying down the principle of guilt until innocence is proved, as the principle and the only principle on which it is to be administered, declaring expressly (Act 1818, Sec. 8.) that in all prosecutions under this act, the defendant shall be holden to prove that the negro, &c., was not brought in, &c., contrary to the provisions of the act; and, in failure thereof, shall be adjudged guilty of the offence of which he may stand accused:" here, too, is the captain arraigned on the charge of a violation of this law and on a process, designed and actually sufficient, it is said, fairly to test the whole question of violation; and here are witnesses at hand (which was true) ready to give important testimony in the case, and now what is done? In comes the captain with his deposition setting forth that he is here on a regular mercantile voyage, with goods consigned to a house in this city, &c., is not guilty in the points charged, and prays for a discharge from custody. And what now ?? Does the attorney approach the case as one of high and solemn interest? No. Does he in the spirit of law or of justice, protest against the reception of the captain's deposition as proof of his innocence? Does he insist that the captain shall at least present some other proof, and in failure thereof, point the court to that fact, as of itself presumptive evidence against him? No. Does he point the court to the fact, that, although here, according to the deposition, on a regular mercantile voyage, with a cargo consigned to a respectable house in this city, the captain has yet been kept in close confinement, from the day of arrest, for want of bail? And does he beg their honors to consider whether it be not very strange and suspicious withal, that the captain and owner of a brig, an honest man, here on honest business, with a cargo, consigned to a respectable house, cannot get a \$5000 bail for his appearance at court? No. Does he introduce counter testimony, or on any ground whatever resist the motion for discharge? Not he. The deposition is admitted, the witnesses at hand are told they will not be wanted, and the attorney does not even " attempt to introduce ANY testimony in contradiction of the captain's deposition, nor oppose the motion of his counsel" for his discharge! And this is a prosecution and process sufficient fairly to test the question of violation, is it? or admitting it so, this is the attorney's fealty to official oaths, this his regard for the faithful execution of the law, this his estimate of the liberty of five human beings immediately before him, and the rights of a common humanity! Horrible! Have it which way you will, that the process and the issue were evasive and precluded testimony on points that would have ensured conviction, or that such testimony was shut out by the negligence or connivance of the attorney, and in either case, as we may not resolve the matter into ignorance, we confess that we cannot find words to express our astonishment and indignation; nor can we avoid the conviction, that such fealty to official oaths and obligations may have its Price.

But the worst is not yet told. We come now to another part of

these shameful proceedings, viz.

THE KIND OF TRIAL.

The Act of 1819, Sec. 4, provides 1. that when information has been lodged with the attorney, that any negro, &c., has been unlawfully brought in, the attorney shall "forthwith commence prosecution, by information;" 2. that "process shall issue against the person charged with holding such negro," &c.: and 3. that "if, upon the return of the process executed, it shall be ascertained, BY THE VERDICT OF A JURY, that such negro, &c. has been brought in, contrary to the true intent and meaning of the acts in such cases made and provided, then,

^{*} Reporter of N. Y. Sun.

&c." Indeed-"the verdict of a jury!" It is even so. There it stands, in the law, in the very section too prescribing the attorney's duty. Where then was he that he did not ask a jury trial? Where were the court that they did not give it without being asked? Were the attorney and court so utterly unread in these particular laws as not to know their provisions? To say so, were but to proclaim their shame and their utter incompetency for office. How then could the attorney consent to any but a jury's verdict in the case? And how dare the court in the tace of express provision, take a decision into its hand, which they knew had been given, by law, to a jury? Yet the one did it and the other winked at the atrocious deed. Not a juryman was sworn, nor a jury empannelled, nor a hint given that such a thing should be Judicial authority put its foot upon the law, and the whole case, now, is best known to those that did it-was SMUGGLED THROUGH. TRIAL IT NEVER HAD. AND THIS IN NEW YORK, IN THE YEAR 1836! Citizens of New York, of the city, of the state, has it come to this? What, that judicial shall put its foot on the neck of legislative authority, and at its pleasure, regard or disregard, the express and solemn provisions of the law? Who then or what is safe? vet here is a beginning; and of the most unblushing character. What shall come next, and where shall these things end? "If these things are done in the green tree, what shall be in the dry?"

This same vessel may, on future voyages, follow the same inhuman traffic with perfect impunity. Having a clearance from New York, for New Orleans, they can dispose of their slaves in that market and take an outfit from Cuba or elsewhere for the slave coast, from whence they ship a cargo of human beings again to Brazil; sell a part of them in that port, receive merchandize to make sure a cargo for New York, with the remainder of their slaves, which they again dispose of in a Southern port of the United States; thus at once putting to defiance the laws of the United States, with the sanction of our judges, and carrying on the slave trade on a very commodious system. Five of these slaves on board the Brilliante, were detained on the part of the United States, as evidence against the captain. When the decision of the judges was known, these men should have been liberated; they were, however, at the request of the captain, held in jail, for his safety—Judge Ulshoefer observing to Mr. Sedgwick and one of your committee, that if he, the judge, was travelling from the South with his slaves, and suspected they meant to leave him, he should avail himself of the convenience of shutting them up in the prisons of the city of New York, in order to secure them, thus making the jails of this free city, like the dungeons of the South, their shambles for human beings while passing to a more convenient market.

Your committee obtained a writ of habcas corpus for these men in order to release them; but before it was served, notice was given to the captain who removed them on board. Another writ was obtained, to bring them before the judges, who in accordance with their former decision, condemned them to slavery, the laws of the United States notwithstanding. A feeling of indignation at this injustice, induced a party of colored men to rescue some of the slaves from on board the vessel,—this however was done without the knowledge of your committee. The following statements from the public papers tend to prove the alarming extent to which the foreign slave trade is carried on, and the criminal apathy, if not guilty participation of this country respecting it:

Foreign Slave Trade.—(Extract of a letter from Cadiz, June 20, 1836.)—"Twenty years have passed away, since the sum of 3,000,000 dollars, (600,000 pounds sterling,) wrung from the tax-paying people of England, was paid to the king of Spain, in consideration of relinquishing the slave trade; and a squadron of English men-of-war is kept up all this time on the coast of Africa to enforce the treaty.

The result of the sacrifice of so much treasure, and of the still greater sacrifice of human life, is, that at the present time the traffic in human flesh is carried on by Spaniards more extensively and to greater profit than at any former period. You may form some idea of this from the fact that one man in Cadiz has forty ships affoat just now, all engaged in transporting from the African coast to the Island of Cuba. The number of negroes imported into that island last year (1835,) exceeded 45, 000. The Captain-General of Havana takes a bribe of a doubloon (three guineas) per head for every slave so imported, for conniving at the open transgression of his own public orders, proclaimed and placarded periodically, for no other purpose than to ridicule the English. increase in the value of sugar, has given a great stimulus to the slave trade. At Havana, the movement in the slave market is always regulated by the sugar market. The Madrid government could at any time put an end to this nefarious traffic, if so disposed; but it is notorious that they took the money with the full intention of not complying with the treaty.—London Patriot.

COAST OF AFRICA.—A recent traveller asserts, that the slave trade is in full operation on the coast of Africa. But a few weeks ago, fortyfive Spanish vessels to the southward, and twenty-five to the northward of the line, were engaged in the infernal traffic. We regret to learn that these are chiefly American built, and such swift sailers as almost to defy capture. It seems, also, that the Portuguese to the southward of the line, are also extensively engaged in this trade, and by the effect of a late treaty with England, pursue the business with impunity. Our authority remarks, "that while Parliament is making laws to punish cruelty to animals, more than 100,000 human beings are here yearly torn from their homes and conveyed across the Atlantic, more than one-third of whom perish by disease on the passage. In addition to which, from the very moment they are kidnapped, they are confined in shackles, and it is sometimes four and five months until they are shipped, and they are mostly chained on board afterwards. Should a vessel be chased and obliged to get rid of her deck lumber (chiefly composed of provisions,) to make her sail better, overboard go like. wise some of the sick slaves (as in the case of the Argos, captured by the Charybdis,) and should she escape and run short of provisions before she reaches her destination, the slaves that are not likely to sell are hove overboard to make the provisions last for the survivors."

It seems there are two slave establishments at the Gallinas and River Nunez, where a ready sale is effected.

The force stationed on the coast to prevent the trade, is said to be inefficient for that purpose.

SLAVE TRADE IN RIO DE JANEIRO.—Extract of a letter to the Lord Mayor, dated Rio de Janeiro, 16th April, 1836.—"Silver and gold-have risen very rapidly within the last few days, principally in conse-

quence of the number of vessels about to sail to the coast of Africa, engaged in that detestable traffic, the slave trade, which continues to be carried on under the Portuguese flag, with greater activity than ever.—

London Putriot.

Capture of a Slaver.—By Bermuda papers received on Monday, to the 31st May, we learn that a Portuguese slaver had been taken, and carried into Nassau. The Nassau Argus gives the following particulars:—"His Majesty's ship Gannet has arrived off this port, bringing in the Creole, with 307 Africans on board, chiefly children: they were captured off St. Domingo, and had been out 25 days. The Africans are from Congo, and other districts in the vicinity of Sierra Leone; one girl, who speaks English is from that place. A man and his son, who also speak English, say that they had resided at the Cape of Good Hope, and having gone beyond the frontiers, were taken and sold. The whole have been landed. The slave deck in the Creole, did not exceed two feet in height; the men were all manacled and crowded in the usual manner. These African races are chiefly cultivators of rice and other provisions; they are intelligent and industrious.—Ib.

THE SLAVE TRADE.—The English newspapers speak of the increase of the slave trade. There were about fifty Spanish slave ships to the southward of the coast of Africa, and about thirty to the northward, chiefly American built, engaged in the traffic.—Many Portuguese vessels to the southward of the line, were engaged in this trade. There is no doubt that many American vessels are built in the northern states and sold, (though not built expressly) for the slave trade.—N. Y. Express.

Brig St. Nicholas.—Our readers remember the case of this slaver, that was detained in this port by the Collector and District Attorney, and finally put to sea and escaped, an hour or two before the Grand Jury found a bill against the captain.—The consignees are a French house in this city. The destination of the Brig was the island of St. Thomas.

A merchant of this city has just returned from St. Thomas. He saw the St. Nicholas there, and says she is a slaver to all intents and purposes. And further, he states, that while at the island a vessel arrived there from the coast of Africa, having on board as passengers, no less than EIGHTY captains and mates of slave vessels that had been seized by British cruisers!!—Ib.

We have also the clearest evidence, that vessels have fitted out during the past year, from New York, as regular slavers. Some of these have been libelled by your committee, but released by the judges. In

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one instance, already named, the vessel so released was afterward discovered to be destined for the slave trade, and an attempt was made to overtake her, but in vain. Another was overhauled, and taken as a prize by a British cruiser; and a third, fitted out from Brooklyn, and well known in the Havana trade, has not been heard of since her departure. These facts afford abundant evidence of the impunity with which the slave trade is carried on in consequence of the favorable feeling in behalf of slavery, which prevails among our magistrates and judges.

That many colored men who enter on board vessels bound to southern ports, are sold there as slaves, has been clearly ascertained by your committee. We might cite several cases in proof of this assertion. Anthony Freeman entered on board the schooner Enterprise, captain Whitney, for North Carolina; on the arrival of the vessel, the captain ordered the boy on shore, took away his free papers, and, it is said, sold him as a slave—Your committee emleavored to bring this man to justice, having the positive testimony of two of the crew, who saw the boy sold; their positive evidence, however, was deemed insufficient to everturn the negative evidence of others, who could merely testify that they did not see him sold, although it appears by their evidence, that he might have been sold without their knowledge.

Case of James Emerson.—On the 24th of August, as he was on the East River side, near the water, the captain of a vessel enticed him on board, The vessel was bound to Petersburgh, Va., and the captain told the boy he should be gone only nine days, and should then return. He took the boy to Baltimore. The white crew left the

vessel there, and the boy becoming uneasy, wished to leave also. The captain said, "You are not in New York now, but in Baltimore—you must remember that you can't do here as you can there," at the same time threatening to sell him.—This was overheard by a colored man by the name of Gideon Gross. This man spoke to the boy the first opportunity that occurred, and learning what the facts were, took the boy on shore, concealed him, or had him lodged in some place of safety, and started for this city to procure the evidences of his freedom. With what success and by what means the following certificate will show:

"NEW YORK, Nov. 21, 1836.

"This is to certify, that from information given by the bearer, Gideon Gross, some weeks since, I went to Baltimore, in order to rescue a boy from slavery, named James Emerson, which I succeeded in doing, and brought the boy back with me to this city. It is my firm belief, had it not been for the exertion and information given by the said Gideon, who accompanied me to Baltimore, that the boy would now have been in slavery. Gideon informed me that he was obliged to sell a part of his clothing to pay his passage from Baltimore.

JOHN D. WOODWARD."

Another fact. About four four weeks since, a vessel arrived in this port from Gambia, Africa. The owner of the vessel was a black man, and the son of a noted slave dealer on the coast of Gambia. The captain was white, but the crew, 12 in number, were black. About a week after their arrival here, three of them went to the South; whether sent or enticed, we do not know.

A man named Tillman, has been missed by his distressed family on Long Island, for four weeks. It is supposed that he is kidnapped.

Again: On Friday, the 25th ult., a gang of kidnappers had a boy in irons, on the steam boat Emerald, on their way from Albany to this city. After it was ascertained that the boy was claimed as a slave, the passengers raised such an uproar about it, that the captain was obliged to put the kidnappers, with their prey, on shore at Kingston.

It is also pretty well ascertained that there is, at this moment, a vessel in this port, from the South, after a cargo of human beings! One of the hands, named JOHN PIERSON, was heard to say to a friend of his, whom he happened to meet, and who inquired what he was here for, "O, we've come blackbirding again."

Let parents, and guardians, and children take warning. Our city is infested with a gang of kidnappers.—Let every man look to his sefety. Look out for the CUSTICES, for WADDY, BARNES,

OWEN, RUTHERFORD, and young WOLFOLK!

Emancipator, Nov. 1836.

Colored people should mark the signs of the times, and be warned!

The following letter is from Mr. —, now in New Crleans. As the testimony of a colored parent is not received in courts of law in Southern States, there is no hope of Mrs. Brown's relief. So slavery severs the tie between husband and wife, parent and child!

"NEW ORLEANS, August 29th, 1836.

"Mrs. Ramsey,—A few lines to you respecting the young woman that John Hill stole from New York last summer, and sold to a rogue of a captain of a vessel, for one hundred dollars, who carried her to New Orleans and sold her for eight hundred dollars, where she will remain a slave for life, unless some person interferes in her behalf. She came to me and told me her seduction and the circumstances that placed her in slavery. I promised that if I could, I would get her papers for her. She says you know her mother, and was sanguine that if I wrote to you that you could get her free papers; if you do not recollect her, you will please call upon Mrs. Rich, who knows her very well; her name is Mrs. Brown; she says that she has a husband in New York: if he can be found, he had better attend to it, and get her papers.

"Mrs. Ramsey, you will confer a great favor upon this woman, by

sending her free papers soon."

The frequent arrival of slave agents from the South, demands the utmost vigilance and activity on the part of your committee. In many cases, we have had the satisfaction of frustrating their designs, by giving timely notice to their intended victims. In some instances whole families have been saved from returning to slavery by this means.

The following advertisement, (the cool effrontery of which, would be deemed a gross insult to any but a slave-holding community, shows the facility with which the designs of kidnappers and slave agents

are forwarded by our legal authorities.

"IMPORTANT TO THE SOUTH.—F. H. PETTIS, native of Orange county, Va., being located in the city of New York, in the practice of Law, announces to his friends and the public in general, that he has been engaged as Counsel and Adviser in General, for a party whose business it is in the northern cities to arrest and secure runaway slaves. He has been thus engaged for several years, and as the act of Congress alone governs now in this city, in business of this sort, which renders it easy for the recovery of such property, he invites, post paid, communications to him, enclosing a fee of \$20 in each case, and a power of Attorney minutely descriptive of the party absconded, and if in the northern region, he or she will soon be had.

Mr. Pettis will attend promptly to all Law husiness confided to him. N. B. New York City is estimated to contain 5,000 Runaway

Slaves.

These agents find it most convenient to obtain a warrant against the persons they wish to arrest, charging them with the commission of an assault or robbery. When they have thus secured them in gaol, this charge is generally either abandoned, or not proved, and then a detainer is brought against them as fugitive slaves; this stratagem was adopted in the cases of Jerry, Jones, Stewart, and many others. In some of these arrests they have succeeded in sending the unfortunate person into slavery; in other instances they have failed by the interposition of your committee. It will be recollected that Jerry was condemned by the Recorder as a slave. This man was reported by the public papers to have expressed himself perfectly willing to return with the man who claimed him; with how much truth will appear, when we inform you, that, on his arrival in the South, he severed his hand from his wrist, in order to escape

the horrors of slavery.* Jones was arrested on a warrant for an assault; he went willingly with the officer, knowing no such charge could be sustained against him. On his arrival at the court, he was claimed by a man pretending to be his master, as his slave; not being prepared to meet this charge, having no witnesses on his behalf, he begged the case might be put off for a future hearing, to give him time to produce evidence of his freedom. Judge Riker, before whom the case was brought, denied the poor man this right, which both law and reason demanded, and condemned him to slavery, on the ex-parte testimony of the interested slaveholder; and in the space of three hours from his first arrest, he was in chains on his way to the South. A man named Jesse Redmond was arrested in a similar manner, and would no doubt have shared the same fate from the tender mercies of the judge, but happily he had a British protection, which proved a better shield than his honor's justice: for his accusers, on discovering this, abandoned their claim, and gave up the case. Your committee considered it their duty to bring an action against the

^{*}Extract of a letter from a correspondent of the Committee of Vigilance at the South:

[&]quot;Fredericktown, Maryland, Jan. 2d, 1836.

"Mr. Rutherford says that Jerry was betrayed by Philip Hammond; the poor fellow is now in prison; rather than to be sold to the speculators he got an axe and chopped off his hand. You should compel Philip to leave the city, but don't let the boys use violence. He will receive his reward and die like a dog. Give notice for every body from this place to look out! Rutherford, Nimrod and Owens have taken David Halleday with them and started for the North; I expect they are in New York. David is purchasing his freedom. He expects to get the money to pay for his own time by betraying others." I will state that the notice which was read in the churches, warning such and such persons to 'look out!' prevented the apprehension of eight persons who had been freed by their old masters, who, his heirs say, died insolvent.

D. R.

slave agent for false imprisonment, for which offence he was held to bail.

Several aggravated cases of kidnapping, have come to the knowledge of your committee, and occupied their special attention. Before presenting any of these to your notice, it may be proper to remark that they by no means exhibit an uncommon offence, or that they are marked by unusual crucity. Persons employed on the steamboats inform us that it is quite common to receive men on board at Elizabethtown Point and other places, in irons, as slaves; many of these men, we are convinced, have never been brought before the legal authorities, as fugitive slaves, or delivered into the custody of the slave agents according to law.

The annexed case of Hester Jane Carr, tends to prove not only the danger to which free people of color are continually exposed, but the extreme difficulty, if not the utter hopelessness of recovery when once arrested.—This will appear more strikingly when we inform you that the testimony of colored people is not received in their behalf at the South; this young woman was decoyed away from New York, and sold as a slave, as the following documents prove.

" Petersburgh, Aug. 11, 1836.

[&]quot;Sir: I take the liberty of addressing you, at the instance of a black girl, who calls herself Hester Jane Carr, and says she lived in your employment for nearly a year, up to the 18th of last month, when she was enticed away from New York by a woman of the name of Nancy Haws, who brought her to this place, and sold her to a negro buyer as a slave. From her description of this woman, I am induced to think she is one of bad fame, and was travelling with

a paramour when she passed through this town,—he went by the name of Tim? othy Collins. The account that Hester gives of herself is, that she was born of free parents, in Accomack county, Va., where she resided until September last, when she sailed for New York in the schooner Golden Hunter, Barker, master; and that she lived in your employment all the time she remained in New York. Nancy Haws told her that she was going to Columbus, Geo., and engaged her services as a waiting-maid. Hester represented to the person who hought her that she was a slave, which she says she was induced to do, because Nancy Haws told her, that by the laws of this state, free persons of color coming into it, were liable to be apprehended, imprisoned and sold into slavery.

Several humane gentlemen of this town have interfered, to enable her to assent her claims to freedom, if indeed she is entitled to it, and proceedings have been instituted for that purpose. I apply to you with every confidence, that in such a case you will not withhold any information you may possess on elucidation of her story. It is material to show in what character she lived in

New York, and under what circumstances she left there.

Respectfully, your obedient scrvant, WILLIAM C. PARKEL."

State of New York, City and County of New York.

James Cockeroft, of said City of New York, physician, being duly sworn saith, that he knows Hester Jane Carr, a colored girl, who is, as this deponent has recently heard, and believes, is now, or was lately, confined to the jail, or other place of confinement, in Petersburgh, in the state of Virginia, as a slave. That said Hester Jane Carr was a servant in the family of this deponent, in the said city of New York, from the fall of the year 1835, until on or about the 12th day of July last, when she left the residence of this deponent, and as he believes, was entired away by some person. Said Hester Jane is about nineteen years of age, about five feet two or three inches high, of a dark brown complexion, hair or wool on her head very short, with a bare spot on her head, occasioned by a burn when she was small, as he believes; she is rather stout built, stutters when she talks, but conceals that in a great measure by speaking very fast; she has the negro accent very apparently, her teeth are very good, and this deponent further saith, he believes the said Hester left the city very soon after leaving his house.

JAMES COCKCROFT.

Sworn this 10th day of October, 1836, before

C. W. LAWRENCE, Mayor.

City of New York, ss.

Mary Crippen, wife of Littleton Crippen, of Brooklyn, in the state of New York, (a colored woman) being duly sworn, maketh oath and saith, that she was born in the eastern shore of Virginia, in the county of Accomack, and is of the age of twenty eight years; that her mother was sister to Jacob Walton, and that Hester Jane Carr is cousin to this deponent, and further this deponent saith, that she remembers when the said Hester Jane Carr was an infant child; she was the daughter of Anna Carr, the wife of Jacob Walton, but the said Anna, and the said Hester Jane Carr, have always been called Carr, by the maiden name of the said Anna before her marriage, that said Anna Carr and Jacob Walton were both free persons,* and were always known and respected to be free. Said Jacob Walton was a farmer, and worked out as a hired man,

^{*}In a letter from W. C. Parker, Esq., counsellor for Hester Jane, to Mr. Barney Corse, we have the following words, which show that slavery in Virginia forbids and absolutely nullifies the deposition of a parent with a colored skin to prove a title in, or the freedom of his own child.—"The evidence of a free colored person cannot be received in the courts in Virginia in a case

but built a house of his own in Accomack county, and lived there with his wife, the said Anna Carr; that when the said Hester Jana was yet a small girl, she went to live with her aunt, Ruoda Henderson, a free colored woman, and sister to said Jacob Walton, who also had a house and lived in Accomack county, and that said Hester Jane Carr continued to reside with her aunt, Mrs. Henderson, as this deponent has always understood and verily believes; and this deponent further declaring saith, that she resided about two or three miles from the said Jacob Walton's house, and from the house of the said Rosanna Henderson, and kept up an intimate acquaintance with their families, that about eight years ago the said Jacob Walton came North to find employment, and died of small pox, and that the said Anna Carr died about three years ago, in Accomack county, and this deponent saith, further deposing, that she came with her husband from Virginia, to the state of N. York, about six years ago, and after remaining about one year here, went back to Virginia, where she resided two years in Accomack co. again, and then returned again to the state of N. York, and has resided in the cities of New York and Brooklyn ever since. And further, that this deponent hath heard the affidavit of Mrs. Elizabeth Johnson read, and recollects the contents of it, and that the statements therein contained about the age, height, marks, habits, and personal description of the said Hester Jane Carr, are in all respects true, as this deponent believes.

MARY K CRIPPEN.

mark.

Sworn this 19th day of October, 1836, before Jonathan Trotter, Mayor of the city of Brooklyn.

FREEDOM.—In a late National Intelligencer, published at Washington, are found advertisements for the recovery of nearly a dozen slaves who have run away. Who among us will volunteer to restore them to their former state of happiness?—N. H. Observer.

Man-Jobbers.—In some of the southern cities, splendid fortunes are made by the "negro brokers," or those who advance cash on slaves, or buy and sell them to suit their customers. These shavers

are said to possess a larger stock of rascality than most others.

THE MAN JOBBING LAND PIRATES OF BALTIMORE.—Take Notice. AUSTIN WOOLFOLK, of Baltimore, wishes to inform the slaveholders of Maryland and Virginia, that their friend still lives to give them cash, and the highest prices for their negroes. Persons disposed to sell, will find it to their interest to give him a call at his residence, Pratt street extended, near the upper depot of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road Company, where they shall see the justly celebrated Austin Woolfolk, free of charge.

N. B.—His checks are such as usually pass, and will convince the holders thereof that "there's nothing broke."

A. W.

where a white person is concerned." There are white persons in Virginia who know her to be free, but who will not bear testimony. Capt. Barker, of schooner Golden Hunter, in which Hester arrived to this city, cannot be found; he received her free papers when she left Virginia, and doubtless forgot to return them. The law says—" By the words of two or three witnesses all things shall be established." Dr. Cockcroft is the only white witness in the case, therefore Hester Jane Carr's Liberty is sacrificed!

Notice.—Agency.—General Slave Agency office, old establishment, No. 2, West Fayette street, basement story of Barnum's City Hotel, nearly opposite the Battle Monument. Gentlemen planters from the South and others who wish to purchase negroes, would do well to give me a call.

Lewis F. Scott.

Cash for 200 Negroes.—The highest cash prices will be paid for negroes, of both sexes, by application to me or my agent at Booth's Garden, Baltimore, (or Market) street extended; where I can be always found for the next five years.

HOPE H. SLATER.

SLAVE CASES.—The high value set on slaves at the South makes the slaveholders of Virginia, Carolina and Kentucky, wide awake to reclaim all their runaways. Probably more men and women have been carried into hopeless bondage from the free states in the last 18 months than in many years before. We give one of the cases from an exchange paper:

MEDINA, OHIO.—A man was carried through our village this morning, his arms bound behind his back. The complexion of the man indicated his crime. He was claimed to be the property of a gentleman in Kentucky. Before noon, a gentleman of respectable appearance arrived by stage from Cleaveland, who stated that a judicial trial had been held in that place to ascertain whether the bound man was in fact guilty of the crime of being the property of a gentleman in Kentucky. He farther stated, that at the trial he heard the witnesses from Kentucky declare under oath, that the man claimed as the property of another left his master in Kentucky on the 4th day of June—and that he heard the keeper of a public house in Cleaveland also declare under oath, that the said man was hired by him in Cleaveland on the same 4th of June. Yet the human property was by the court delivered up to the claimant. We inquire of the Cleaveland Gazette if these things were so?

You know that in our beautiful me'ropolis, there is a regularly organized system of kidnapping; and that the free, as well as the bond, are often stolen away by their brethren, and sold, as Joseph was, to southern traders. And here, in order to avoid the exposure of this nefarious system, instead of resorting to our public prisons, which the slave holder has a right to do, and which right he does sometimes exercise, it is well known THAT A NOTED KIDNAPPER IN OUR CITY OF BROTHERLY LOVE, HAS FITTED UP A PRIVATE DWELLING, WITH IRON BARRED WINDOWS, AS A JAIL, where these poor miserable creatures are incarcerated by their legal, or pretended owners, until they are dragged back into abject slavery. You know, too, that northern manufacturers, merchants, and consumers, are constantly supporting and encouraging this system of outrage and oppression, by purchasing to a large amount, the products of the unrequited

labor of the slave; thus meriting the reproach which was formerly uttered against the Jews, "when thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him." Yes! we are now clothing and feeding ourselves with the cotton, rice and sugar which we know the Southern planter never has paid his slaves for laboring to cultivate. You must be aware, then, that the North, as a co-partner in the sin of slavery, is loudly called upon to labor for its entire abolition.—Philad. Gaz.

OUTRAGE AND KIDNAPPING. - We have learnt from Mr. Gilbert Lyon, of Rye, the particulars of a most infamous outrage which was perpetrated in that town, night before last. An industrious and worthy colored man (name not recollected) who has been for some months in the employ of Seth Lyon, Esq., a justice of the peace, living in Buyrum village, Greenwich, Conn., situated opposite Rye, N. Y., on a small stream which there divides the states of New York and Connecticut. This colored man had been employed for several years in that neighborhood-sometimes working at Rye, and then again at Buyrum. Night before last, he was induced by an acquaintance at Rye, to come over the bridge, under some pretence; when he was immediately seized by ten or a dozen ruffians, bound, and thrown into a wagon, which was then driven at great speed for New York. Great excitement prevails, both at Rye and at Buyrum, in consequence of this outrage; and both Justice Lyon, of the latter place, (in whose employ the negro was.) and Justice Brown, of Rye, have written to the Mayor of this city on the subject. It is said that the individual who enticed the negro over the line, was paid \$1,50 for so doing.

Mr. G. Lyon also informs us that he has ascertained, since coming to this city, that the negro in question was arrested (probably as a runaway slave) by Mr. John Lyon, one of our city marshals, and associates, and has already been put on board a vessel for the South. If this be true, we hope Mr. John Lyon will forthwith give us some light on the subject; for, as the case now appears, it is nothing more nor less than one of bare-faced kidnapping, and a daring outrage and insult

upon the laws of this community.—N. Y. Sun.

The Kidnapping Case.—Mr. Boudinot, a deputy sheriff, called upon us yesterday, and explained the circumstance of carrying off the negro from Rye, Westchester, on Monday night. Boudinot, it appears, employed Mr. John Lyon to drive the vehicle for him, in which the negro was brought away, and of course Mr. L. had no hand in the arrest. The negro, whose name is Peter or Peters, alias Henry, is alleged to have run away from Northampton, Virginia, some years ago, in ompany with seventeen others, all of whom, together, stole a small craft and landed in New York. Many of them have already been taken, but Peters, as is alleged, had escaped until he was arrested as stated yesterday. E. K. Waddy, a deputy sheriff from Northampton, immediately despatched Peters for the South. Boudinot showed us his au-

thority for arresting near a score of negroes. It was a requisition from Gov. Marcy, dated October, 1833, in which power is given to the sheriff of New York to deliver into the custody of E. K Waddy, seventeen negroes accused of a felony, and fugitives from justice. Let every black man, therefore, who cannot give a good account of himself for at least more than three years back, look out !—Ibid.

Kidnapping.—Law cannot sanctify crime. We hold that to carry an unoffending colored person, or any other person, into slavery, is kidnapping, whether done legally or illegally. And it is a crime not unfrequently committed, both ways. Instances are constantly occurring of gentlemen hiring colored servants in this city to travel with them. The unsuspecting victims are led from place to place, till at length they arrive at Baltimore, or some other slave mart, and are sold to the speculators. The following letter from a colored person in Baltimore to

his friend in this city relates to such a case :- Emancipator.

Baltimore, Sept. 13, 1835. Dear Sir—I take much interest in writing to you these few lines, to inform you of a poor afflicted boy who says that he is from New York, and is free. He came on here with Dr. Munroe, of New York, who sold him to Austin Woolfolk. The boy's name is John Richards, and he says his mother's name is Emeline Fenly, who lives in Cedar street, N. York. Please to make some inquiry about the poor object of pity, and try to find his mother, or some person who knows the poor boy, and send me a letter directly. In so doing you will oblige

Your affectionate brother, &c.

Again-The New York Transcript, of one day last week, July 27th,

contains the following:

KIDNAPPING IN NEW YORK.—We are informed that a young colored man arrived in this city on Saturday last from some part of Georgia, whence he made his escape from bondage, having been forcibly detained there in the service of a slave owner, who, through the means of two wretches whom he employed, caused him, when he was quite young—three years since—to be kidnapped in the night time from this city, and conveyed to his estate. The poor fellow says that he shall be able to identify the persons who thus inhumanly dragged him from his friends and home, should he again see them, and measures have been set on foot for their apprehension. One of them is well known to several persons in the city as a fellow of very bad and desperate character, and he has for some time past been suspected of getting a living by this abominable and revolting traffic. It is to be hoped for the sake of humanity, as well as public justice, that he, at all events, will be caught, and punished with the utmost severity of the law.

Again—On the Sabbath, August 28th, another colored man was arrested in this city as a fugitive slave, and on Monday was brought before the Recorder for trial. He is claimed by one 1. B. Collier, of Mary-

land, who claims to have inherited him from his father. We are happy to say, in this instance, that instead of hurrying the man off into slavery, on the testimony of the claimant merely, and in three hours from the time of his arrest, the Recorder has thus far been disposed to give the man a fair hearing. And yet we must say that we see no good reason for so long postponing the decision on the case. The claimant and his witnesses testify positively, that the man left him in April, 1835, while on the other hand, several good witnesses testify that the man was here the winter previous. But the Recorder may have good reasons for the delay, and therefore, as we intend, when the case is ended, to give a full report of the proceedings, we will not now prejudge the matter, but hope that the decision will be in strict accordance with truth and justice.—Emancipator of Nov. 1836.

KIDNAPPERS! KIDNAPPERS!!—The kidnappers seem to be specially busy now in every section of the land. One would think they thought their time was short, in which to glut themselves with the plunder of humanity. They certainly are more active than usual, or else there has been such a revolution in the public mind in behalf of the oppressed, that what used to pass unnoticed, now attracts general attention, and wakes up general interest. Just look once at the following, all in the course of one or two weeks.

1. New-York. A young colored man was recently arrested in this city as a fugitive. Some of the papers intimated that there might be a disturbance and an attempt at a rescue, when the trial came on. The trial was to have been on Saturday, Oct. 22d. "A large number of persons," so says the Transcript, "assembled in the vicinity of the City Hall, shortly before the hour when the examination was to be commenced, and from certain symptoms that were manifested among the crowd, there was no doubt that there would be a violent tumult. Fortunately, however, this was put a stop to by the counsel engaged in behalf of the accused, who deemed it advisable to intimate to the prosecuting party, that the friends of his client were ready to avail themselves of the proferred terms of compromise, viz. to pay the sum of five hundred dollars to the claimant of the slave, for the liberation of the latter; and thus, for the present, at all events, the affair terminated."

The Runaways.—2. New Bedford. The Taunton Reporter mentions the case of a slave named Randolph. A person named Griffiths came to New Bedford, with a power of attorney to arrest him. He procured the aid of a sheriff, and seized the man without a warrant, and tried to hand-cuff him. Randolph resisted, and called for assistance. A great crowd of the citizens, white and black, assembled, indignant at the spectacle, for Randolph had resided some time in New Bedford;—was a married man,—honest and intelligent, and possessed of a very

handsome property. Some of his creditors immediately caused writs to be made out against him; he was legally arrested, 'aken from the hands of the slave-hunter, and committed to prison for debt! Griffiths not suspecting the trick, and supposing his victim safe, proceeded to Boston, to obtain a warrant from the District Judge, for his legal apprehension. As soon as he was gone out of the town, Randolph was liberated, and he took care not to fall again into the hands of his enemy. Such was the excitement in the community, that they were not satisfied with the mere escape of the slave, and a warrant was issued by a justice of the peace for apprehending Griffiths, for an assault and battery on Randolph. Griffiths was arrested in Boston and brought to Taunton, tried and convicted. A question of law was made, which was finally carried before the justices of the Supreme Court, and by whose opinion Griffiths was justified, and the conviction was accordingly reversed.—Essex Gazette.

TUMULT-SLAVE CASE. - 3. Burlington, N. J. About seventeen years ago, (1) a mulatto arrived in the vicinity of Burlington, who called himself "Severn Martin." He soon obtained employment, was industrious, and married a colored wife, by whom he had one child, who is now alive. He worked (as we are informed) for several years under Mr. Emily, a brick-maker, near Bordentown. During this period his wife died-and he married another, also a colored woman, now living, and by whom he has no children. By a course of industry and frugality, he saved from four hundred to five hundred dollars, and had purchased a small piece of ground and a cottage, at Three Tuns village, Mansfield township, Burlington county, where he resided with his family. For some years the world went well with Severn Martin, when, unhappily for him, a man who had known him in Virginia, found him out, and informed his old master of his "whereabouts." His old master then wended his way to New Jersey, found the report correct, and in due form of law, made a claim upon Severn Martin, under his old name of " Negro Sam."

The proprietor of Severn Martin, alias Negro Sam, is a gentleman of high respectability in the State of Virginia, "Colonel William Christian." He brought a letter of introduction from Mr. Wise, (2) a member of Congress from that State to Mr. Ingersoll of this city. Colonel C. stated that he had purchased "Sam," not so much from a motive of requiring his services, but because Sam had married a female slave on

(2) Pretty business, truly, for a member of Congress!

⁽¹⁾ Seventeen years, in some states, in the case of real estate or other property, would give the man a title by the mere right of possession, and nullify the demand of the claimant, however righteous it might be in itself. But in Republican America, no length of possession, even by the rightful owner, ever nullifies the impious demands of the man claimer, and gives back to outraged humanity its title-deed to "inalienable rights!"

his estate, by whom he had eight children—and his old wife and family were there now. (3) He paid four hundred and fifty dollars for Sam, but had received very little advantage from his labor, as the said Sam soon after ran away. The reason of his leaving was not on account of hard work or ill usage, but because he was jealous of his wife—as he (Colonel Christian) had every reason to believe, without any just grounds. (4)

The circumstances as we have detailed them, now became matters of public notoriety; and as Severn Martin, alias negro Sam, had conduct-

ed himself well, great excitement prevailed.

On Saturday last, the case was heard in the Mayor's Court, before his honor John Larzalere, Mayor of this city. The particulars were investigated in the most impartial manner—the Mayor postponing the court at one stage of the proceedings, for two hours, to enable Sam's friend to bring forward some papers in his favor. An old paper was accordingly produced, but it had no bearing whatever upon the question. Two witnesses appeared, who swore to Sam, and he was farther identified by two large natural white marks on his body; there was a third mark, which he admitted, without examination, Colonel Christian. addressing him, said, "Sam, you know I never abused you-that you were never ill treated in my employ, but made comfortable. Was it not so ?" Sam's silence gave assent. (5) Colonel Christian observed that Sam used to make shoes, and was otherwise employed in handicraft trade, in which occupation he had rendered himself useful. His age is 48 or 50. The case being very clear, judgment was given in favor of the claimant-and Sam was to leave his cottage, and once more return to Virginia, and to slavery.

The next business was to remove him; but this was no easy matter, as a crowd of at least five hundred persons, white as well as colored, had assembled on the wharf—the great majority of whom declared that he should not be taken away. We say the great majority, because our informant states there were some amongst them in favor of the master. We also learn that a strong party were anxious to have the case heard

(5) Sam's silence, we suspect, meant this-that he knew enough not to say No, if he felt so, as that would only have insured him a tremendous flogging

when once more fairly in the power of his master.

⁽³⁾ No doubt! What a good christian this Colonel Christian must be, to do all this to enable Sam to live with his wife and children!

⁽⁴⁾ And so good Colonel Christian is going to take him back to bless him with that dear old wife that he was so jealous of he could not live with her. How disinterested! Alas, however, for good Colonel Christian! For later intelligence says, that notwithstanding all his anxiety to take Severn back to his old wife, he has finally consented to take \$800 for him, and Severn has thus been ransomed, but not until the Colonel or his agents, had taken the old man to Philadelphia, beaten him at times severely, shaved off his whiskers, and PULLED OUT HIS GRAY HAIRS, so that he might appear younger, and sell to better advantage! Infamous monsters!

before some other future tribunal, in the hope of pleading his cause with such effect as to ensure his detent on. This might have been no more than rumor. But that course being threatened, and the excitement and alarm which every moment increased, being but too manifest, it naturally became an object with the proprietor to remove Sam as speedily as possible.

The State Rights steamboat, observing the mob approach towards the edge of the wharf, went on her way, before Sam, hand cuffed to a constable, arrived. It was then attempted to put him on the ferry boat, but the boatman would not receive him, and defended himself against the party with a log of wood, and pushed off into the stream, and crossed without taking the captured slave amongst his passengers. (6) By this time, the Linnæus came alongside, and a determined endeavor was made to place the constable and negro on board, which was as determinedly resisted, the mob becoming furious. Sam looked we begone and wretched to a degree, and in the attempt a person living in the city, whose name we could mention, struck him, by way of keeping the par-

ty back.

We hope the confusion of the moment will be admitted as an excuse for this act; as otherwise, to strike even a negro in custody, is—but we will say no more on that part of the story. A negro attempted to strike or kick Mr. John Hancock, constable, who immediately drew a pistol; but a gentleman behind him moved his arm away; or, acting from the sudden impulse of anger and perhaps of duty, the consequences might have been serious. Another negro was flourishing a dirk; but the Mayor ordered him off, and he quitted the ground. Meanwhile the Linnæus left, amidst the huzzas of the mob. We cannot wonder at our captains of steamboats avoiding the conveyance of such passengers as much as lies in their power, as we know that a judgment of three hundred dollars is now hanging over captain Jenkins, commander of the Trenton—than whom no man on the river is more respected—for taking a runaway slave as passenger; though he did not personally know, at the time, that he had such an individual on board.

Sam was now marched to the front of the city hotel, and placed in a dearborn wagon, but the populace once more becoming furious, the Mayor ascended some steps, and addressed them to the following

effect:

"Fellow Citizens: There are laws for protecting slave-holders and their rights, even in this State. Such being the case, it is not for me to inquire whether those laws are right or wrong—but as a magistrate, it is my bounden duty to carry them into effect, which I am resolved to

⁽⁶⁾ Good! We trust the time is not distant when a steamboat or a stage will no sooner take a kidnapper and his kidnapped man on board, than he would a sheep stealer with his stolen sheep.

do, as far as in my power lies. (7) As good citizens, it is your duty also to obey the laws of our country. I warn you that the penalty for attempting to rescue a slave, is one thousand dollars or imprisonment;—and if any of you are brought before me charged with the offence, I shall do my best to see that it is enforced. Let me therefore exhort

you to respect the laws, and retire peaceably."

The crowd then dispersed, and with a little hooting and shouting, "Negro Sam" was conveyed away in the dearborn. We understand there was a general impression among the crowd, that Col. Christian's object was to get both the man and the property. We have it from the best authority, that the Colonel's observations upon the point were, that if there were any children, he would not touch the property, but leave it for their support. But if there were not, then he considered himself entitled to it, if the law so viewed the case, as a reimbursement for the loss of his four hundred dollars, Sam's services, and the seventeen years interest of money. Besides, he thought it right that Sam should return to his wife and family.—Philadelphia Enquirer.

Norfolk, Aug. 17.—Unparallelled baseness shall we call it? The term is not sufficiently significant, nor can we conjure up an epithet to characterize the features of depravity belonging to a transaction which has just been related to us. Let the reader judge. A white man, whose name we withhold for the present, arrived here a few days ago in a small craft from Richmond, having with him a negro man and two boys. He offered the boys for sale to several persons, but the price, \$700, being thought too high, he lowered it to \$450, which induced a suspicion that he had not come honestly by them; but to this suspicion was opposed the ready declaration of the negro man, that Mr --had bought him and the two boys, who were his children, in Petersburg. Still, however, it was thought proper to investigate the matter, and the white man with the negroes were taken to the mayor's office, when the truth came out that the negro was a freeman belonging to Petersburg; that the boys, also free, were his own children, and that he had entered into a compact with the white monster to carry the children abroad and sell them and divide the money. All the parties are in custody.—Herald.

A SLAVE PROCESS IN PENNSYLVANIA.—Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Bucks county, Penn. to the editor of the National Enquirer, dated the 12th inst.

⁽⁷⁾ Right--right! We hope the mayor will always prove thus true to his official trust, and whatever the occasion for the mob, declare and carry out his resolution to enforce the laws, "as far as in his power lies." Later intelligence, however, denies that there was any thing like a mob in the case.

"We have a prospect of a slave trial, in about a month from this time, at our county town. A brief history of the case I will give now, and the sequel in due season.

"About the middle of last week, a colored man was arrested in Bristol, on suspicion of being a runaway slave. A certain butcher from Camden, in Jersey, was the informer, and condescended to lie handcuffed with his victim all night, preparatory to his being carried to Dovlestown the next day, when the case was to be examined before Wm. Watts, one of the associate Judges of Bucks. On the trial, it was ascertained that the colored man had resided seven or eight years with different persons in Bristol. This was undisputed. He also stated that he had been born in this state, and had lived with divers respectable people in it, not very far from the place where he was apprehended. On the other hand, the butcher attempted to identify the man with one whom he had seen in Virginia, in the possession of a woman whom the pretended master alleged having married. These two statements conflicting, a postponement became necessary; and, fortunately for the colored man, our Congressman elect, Matthias Morris, (who is a member of the abolition society,) volunteered his services—the consequence of which act was, that on the examination which was again called up on the 10th inst., he insisted on the pretended slave owner making out. with indubitable clearness, his legal claim to the bones and sinews of his victim. A period of about four weeks was allowed him for this object. An attempt was made on the part of the pretended master, to prove from certain admissions of the defendant, that he was his slave: but an exception was taken to this procedure by the colored man's counsel, and this exception was sustained by the Judge. It appears probable, therefore, that if this modern Shylock should succeed in obtaining his "pound of flesh," the good people of Bucks are indisposed to allow him anything more. Another lawyer, who resides in Bristol, is also employed on behalf of this unfortunate man; and several members from our Anti-Slavery Society attended on the late inquest. But if I mistake not, there will be a meeting of a far different size, on the day which is to decide the fate of this poor fellow. The zeal and ability, which his counsel have already displayed, were highly creditable to them, and in their exercise showed that a fount of sympathy had been opened which gave sure presage that the wrongs of the African are beginning to be appreciated.

"What a call do these outrages make upon our citizens, for urging upon our legislature the nessessity of a trial by jury! W. H. J."

More Kidnapping.—About three weeks ago, an industrious negro, who had accumulated property to the amount of five or six hundred

dollars, with his wife and children, was forcibly carried from his house in Posey county, about ten miles from Mount Vernon, and the woman and children sold as slaves. It is stated that five citizens of Posey county were engaged in the nefarious act .- One of the gang, who was a near neighbor to the negro, went into the house at 10 or 11 o'clock at night, and pretended that he wanted to hire the negro to chop wood. The negro was in bed, and his wife, engaged in spinning, became alarmed on discovering a pistol in the hand of his visitant, at that late hour, and reached up and took down the rifle, which was hanging at the head of his bed, -and while presenting it to the breast of his antagonist, the persons standing at the door rushed in and knocked him down, jumped upon him with such force as to break his breast bone, and beat him till he was senseless. In this situation he and his family were placed upon horses, and taken to the river at the lower part of the village of Mount Vernon, and put into a ferry boat that had been prepared by some of the gang, taken down the river twelve miles, to the mouth of Highland Creek, and to the house of a relative of Davis, one of the number. Here the negro was untied, as it was supposed that he was so much injured as to unable him to escape. He however, did escape, and returned to Mount Vernon, when two citizens of that place, started on board of the first steamboat in pursuit of the villains. Captain Green, the captain of the boat, was informed of their business, and gave them all the aid in his power. This was the night after the abduction of the negroes, and Captain Green directed his officers and crew to attend to all calls from the shore. A pistol shot was heard; the boat rounded to, and as was anticipated, took in Davis and Miller, two of the gang who went off with the negro woman and children. The persons in pursuit kept secret till they arrived at Shawneetown, where Captain Green placed a guard to prevent any one from leaving the boat till a process was obtained for the arrest of Davis and Miller, but by some strange manoeuvre they were released, and suffered to pursue their course.

On the return to Mount Vernon of the two persons who went in pursuit, other persons started to pursue and arrest the villains again. The result we have not definitely heard. Rumor says they were re-taken at New Madrid, after they had sold the woman and children, and that they escaped from the sheriff, after he had shot and wounded Davis: and that one or both of them, have gone to Texas, that land of patriots, which some of our good citizens wish Gen. Jackson to purchase.

One of the five is under recognizance for trial at the next circuit court of Posey county.—Evansville (Indiana) Journal.

Kidnapping.—There have been several recent cases of kidnapping in this city—in which children have been enticed away from their parents, and transported to the South. Two of these cases were those of

children on their way to school. The third case is as follows:—A little girl, twelve years old, named Jane Green, was enticed away from her parents, living in the upper part of the city, about two months since. It was not, however, until the day before yesterday, that the friends of the child ascertained where she was probably concealed. Immediate application was made for a writ of habeas corpus; but the hour was so late, the judge could not be found. Judge Ulshoeffer yesterday granted the writ; but it was too late, the man and his reputed wife having taken leave during the preceding night—taking the child with them—for Florida, as it is said, by the way of New Orleans. His name is M. Reveloid, said to be a Frenchman. It is hoped that the humane will look after the case, and, if possible, rescue the child from bondage.—N. Y. Transcript.

Kidnapping.—A writ of habeas corpus was issued on Wednesday to compel a Frenchman named Reveloid, to produce Jane Green, a mulatto girl, about 11 years old, whom he is charged with unlawfully detaining for the purpose of taking to some slave state. The little girl has been living in his family for some time, and is suspected—but whether correctly or not, remains to be proved—that he intended bringing her with him to New Orleans. Before the writ could be served on him he left the city, and has gone, no one knows where, and taken the little

girl along with him.—N. Y. Paper.

Mr. Ruggles continued. The case of Jane Green is familiar to all. It occurred very recently, and has been noticed in terms of strong condemnation in nearly all the city papers. The facts in the case are these; she is about ten years old. She was enticed away about two months since, by a French family of the name of Reveloid. were suspected, at the time, of having kidnapped her, and the neighbors watched them for some time, in the hope of recovering the girl, or getting some clue by which to determine what had become of her, but in vain. At length, about three days before this family were to go to the South, they saw the girl there again, and immediately sent information to me. I repaired to the house at once, and while in the basement saw her in the yard, with one of the children of the family. I then went to the door and rung the bell. A little girl came to it, and when I inquired if Jane Green was there, she said she would see, and told me to stand there at the door. I however followed on, and was soon met by an individual who assured me she was not there—that she had not been there for two months, and was now at such a place in New Jersey, at work for wages, &c. I expressed my regret, &c. and hastened away to get a writ for her rescue. I applied to a lawyer, and after considerable trouble and delay, we at length found Judge Ulshoeffer. We could find the Recorder, but had no confidence in him. Judge Ulshoeffer was at first disposed to refuse a writ in the case, but on

learning the facts, he seemed surprised, and granted a writ. It was, however, too late to answer the purpose; and had it not been, it is plainly as valueless as so much brown paper, and yet it would seem to be all the protection the law affords us against kidnappers. It is really nothing more than a summons—nay, it is not that, for the kidnapper may obey it or not, as he pleases, with perfect impunity. It has no authority at all. The writ is as follows:

"HABEAS CORPUS. TO BRING UP PERSON.—The people of the state of New York, to M. Reveliod, greeting: We command you, that you have the body of Jane Green, a colored girl, by you imprisoned and detained, at the corner of Washington and Reade streets, in the city of New York, as it is said, together with the time and cause of such imprisonment and detention, by whatsoever name she shall be called or charged, before Michael Ulshoeffer, at his office in the City Hall, in the city of New York, on the 17th day of November, 1836, at ten o'clock in the forenoon of that day, to do and receive what shall then and there be considered concerning her, and have you then there this with

Witness. Samuel Nelsen, Esquire, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature, on the 16th day of November, one thousand eight hundred and thirty six.

Hallet, Paigo, Hubbard and Sutherland, Clerks. Horace Dresser, Attorney.

One other fact. A few days ago, said Mr. R., Mr. Hale, of the Journal of Commerce, told me that he knew there were a great many cases of kidnapping in the city, that he knew a respectable druggist in Pearl street, who was detected, about a week before, in the very act of inveigling a boy away into slavery; and when I asked why he didn't publish the fact, O! it would'nt do, it was a delicate subject, &c. &c.

Emancipator.

We find the following in the Cleaveland Daily Gazette of Aug. 22d.

Our citizens were somewhat startled one evening last week, by the seizure of a colored man in this city, by a slave driver and his emissaries from Kentucky. As this is the first seizure of the kind which has ever taken place in this city, we have taken some little pains to enquire into the circumstances of the case, and believe that the following will be found to be a correct account.

John had been a waiter for some time past at the Giobe tavern, at the corner of Superior Lane and Merwin street, and had given general satisfaction by his quiet demeanor and attention to his duties. He was seized on Thursday evening last by General John Mannin, who, as agent of a certain Henry Towles, of Bourbon county, Kentucky, on Friday moraing, claimed, before Mr. Justice Hoadley, that the prisoner was a runaway slave; and that he should be delivered up to him, to be carried back to Kentucky. The General produced a witness, who said that his own name was John Morris; that he expected the whole or part of a reward of five hundred dollars for carrying the prisoner,

whom he said he had known ten or twelve years, back to Kentucky; and that the prisoner ran away with a horse from his master, on the night of the 4th of June. He likewise produced an advertisement, in which the runaway was described, but which differed, in some important particulars, from the man before the court. We have a law in the State of Ohio, and it is proper that our readers should know it, which prevents a colored man from testifying in a court of JUSTICE when one of the parties is a white man; which permits a white man to beat. bruise, cheat, rob, murder, or kidnap a negro, provided he can so manage matters as to prevent any white witness from seeing his nefarious deeds. So black a law was of course not forgotten by General John Mannin and his counsel. The acquaintances and friends of the prisoner, who would have given an account of him which would have made him a resident of this city from the middle of May last, were prevented from opening their mouths in court. But fortunately as it at first appeared, one white witness swore directly to having seen the prisoner in Cleaveland on the 4th of June; and at any rate, John performed a day's work on the 7th, at the Globe Tavern; which last time would have left the prisoner, supposing him to have been the runaway, but forty eight hours in which to have performed a journey of six days and a half. This evidence, however, was not thought sufficient by the Justice, and the unfortunate man was delivered over to the Kentucky General, with a certificate—made out before the trial commenced—authorizing him to take the prisoner into his custody. The friends of the unfortunate man made one more effort to save him from the fate which so nearly hung over him. A writ of habeas corpus was served out before two of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas of this county: but their Honors, being of opinion that the certificate of the Justice was in itself a sufficient reason for carrying the negro away—and that the proceeding by habeas corpus (which they considered a State law) must be utterly powerless before the negro law of the United States, refused to interfere in the matter. The ends of the law had been reached: and he who was yesterday a freeman, is to-day a slave! Summum jus. summa injuria. Report says that Mr. Morris, and the General, before they left Kentucky, paid \$500 for the man, "on the leg," upon the certainty that if they could get him again to the Ohio river, he would bring \$1,200. We are happy to say, that although the trial excited an unusual degree of feeling, there was not the slightest attempt to infringe upon the majesty of the laws.

[The foregoing has been furnished us by a gentleman who was present at the trial before Esq. Hoadley, and witnessed the proceedings before Judge Usher. We add, that the interest of the slave holder was advocated by S. Starkweather, Esq. and T. Bolton, Esq. and that Messrs. S. J. Andrews, Geo. T. Kingsly, and H. V. Willson, Esqrs.,

volunteered their services in behalf of the unfortunate slave.]

Unfortunate Affray—We are informed that on Sunday night last an unfortunate affray took place at Swedesborough in this county, which resulted in the serious wounding of one individual, and how many more it is at this time unknown. The cause of the outbreak was this. A family of blacks in the neighborhood of Berkley, claimed as slaves, were arrested upon the warrant of Donahoe, a noted slave catcher from Philadelphia, and taken before Justice Harker, on Sunday, and detained by him at the hotel of Mr. Johnson, until Monday morning, for trial. During all the day and evening, there were to be seen clusters of blacks in and about the village. The alleged slaves, we are informed, were confined in the cellar of the tavern, and were in irons. About 11 o'clock at night the house was attacked by about forty negroes, who came to the rescue of their confined brethren. A discharge of musketry and a volley of clubs and stones were the first intimation that the un-

suspecting and affrighted landlord received.

The household was immediately aroused and shrank terror struck to the garret and other parts of the building, The windows were broken out, and the building riddled by bullets and large musket shot. The landlord defended the house as far as he was able, but he had no arms, save a light fowling piece. He discharged it several times and wounded one or more-how badly he knows not. But what is most to be regretted, an aged English pedlar, who had taken lodgings there for the night, aroused by the tumult below from his slumbers, sought refuge half awake and in great alarm in the garret. After the noise had a little subsided, he attempted to find his way into the bar-roomtalking, as he came to himself. The landlord heard him and was frightened into the belief that two of the blacks had effected an entrance by way of the trap door, which was known to be open, and he accordingly prepared himself for giving them the warmest reception-Braced himself, cocked and levelled his gun, and in terror awaited their approach—and as the pedlar emerged from the stair door, discharged a large portion of a heavy charge into his knee. The wound is a very severe one, and bled most profusely. We learn, however, that the physicians who were called to dress it, are of the opinion that he may recover from the wound without amputation, though in all probability, not without the loss of the limb forever. The accident is deeply regretted, and by none more than the unhappy landlord.

On Monday morning, the blacks were taken before Judge Harker, and on motion of E. B. Caldwell, Esquire, for the prisoners, the case was postponed until Friday next, upon the all ged absence of a mate-

rial witness.

The mode of conducting these claims of our southern friends to runaway slaves, calls for the serious attention of our law givers.—We would not have them touch the question of slavery in the abstract—it is not necessary that they should. But we would have the process of reclaim-

ing slaves so well defined and clearly expressed as at once and forever to settle these incessant tumults and riotous assemblings, always consequent upon the cry of "kidnappers! kidnappers,!!" No man should be touched or molested without legal process—and that process founded upon the real object of the claimant—the reclaiming of his property—and not upon a fictitious charge of a debt or theft. The claim made fairly out, our citizens should not only yield obedience to the law but see that it is rigidly enforced.—Woodbury (N. J.) Herald.

Mr. Johnson, among other facts, said, there was a mercantile house in this city which engaged men to go to Florida, to engage in some extensive work. Among others, they engaged a colored man; he went, and when his engagement was nearly completed, he asked for some of his wages, and found that his employer had actually entered into a contract to seil him into slavery. Accordingly as some of the white laborers, whose term of service was out, were about leaving the place in a boat, he fled to the boat and sought their protection. They had not proceeded far down the river, before the agent, in company with a civil officer, overtook them, and finally, after much difficulty, allowed him to return home only on condition of his signing a receipt in full for his wages. And this man says, that while there he saw a free man, a citizen of New York, in slavery, who had been sold in a similar way some years before.

A SABBATH Scene in New York.—Mr. Editor,—As I was proceeding from my lodging to Church last Sabbath, I saw, in Broadway, a colored man hand-cuffed and pinioned, with a white man near him, on their way towards the harbor. Two or three colored men approached, and asked the colored stranger, if he were the slave of the white man. He replied, "Yes." I could hardly forbear cutting the rope by which this fellow creature's arms were pinioned; but he looked at his master with so much dread, that I feared it would only lead to some additional act of cruelty. The slave-driver looked at the free colored men, who I walked away to the house of God, I pondered upon what I had witnessed with anguish and consideration. Is it possible, thought I, that in this beautiful city—in this free State—such a scene is tolerted? Alas! we live in evil times.—Emancipator.

Kidnapping in New Hampshire.—One Noah Rollins, of Sanbornton, N. H., has been held to bail in the sum of five hundred dollars, on a charge of selling a black boy, ten years old, for fifty dollars, to a person named Bennett, of Alabama. The boy had been placed with Rollins by the overseers of the poor, and the villany of that wretch was discovered time enough to rescue the intended victim. Bennett

saved himself by making off. Much as we despise the fanaticism that arrays itself against the rights of the slave-holders, there is an indignation due to the miscreants who would enslave the free blacks of the country as deep and as damning. All that we have to condemn in the proceedings that have taken place in this case, is the pitiul smallness of the bail. It was mere mockery to suffer such an offender to go at large upon a bail of five hundred dollars.—Courier and Enquirer of Nov. 25th, 1836.

KIDNAPPERS SUSTAIN NO EXPENSE BY THE LAW; BUT COUNT THE COST OF EMANCIPATING A SLAVE.—On Wednesday last, was committed to jail, by B. K. Morsell, Esq., Henry Caloper, a colored man, charged with aiding a female slave to run away from her mistress. The prisoner had charge of a vessel, sailing between Washington and New York, and in the absence of the master, secreted and conveyed away the female slave, (who is the property of Adelaide and Caroline Douglass,) to the State of New York.—New York Transcript of Nov. 26th, 1836.

The following is from the N. Y. American. As the writer was active in causing the arrest and detention of Joas E. de Souza, the captain of the Brilliante, and in collecting the evidence and facts in the case of Peter John Lee, which has placed Boudinot, Lyon, Nash, and Waddy in so unenviable a position before the world, and which will, we trust, place them where they ought to be—it need not appear strange to the reader that he should receive his reward from the pro-slavery press, and hired slave catchers. From all the circumstances in the case, we believe that this was an effort to kidnap Mr. Ruggles and send him to the South.

SAVAGE OUTRAGE AND THREAT TO KILL.

Mr. Editor: I have hesitated to call the public attention to the "outrage" a'leged to have been committed on board the "Brig Brilliante, on the night of the 24th inst.," to correct the false reports in relation to that outrage and myself, until now; when I trust, that the newspapers have ceased to abuse their mind in relation to it.

It is a duty which I owe to them and myself, to state the facts in this, and in a subsequent outrage, so far as I am acquainted with them;

and to pronounce the charges against me in the matter of "riot" or

"outrage" or "assault" to be malicious and false.

I have never visited that vessel at any time, except in open day, when humanity urged, and duty directed me. And the idea of my boarding a slave ship at night "within the jurisdiction of the United States," in the port of New York; to release by force her captives from on board, when I have been acquainted with the fact for the last three months that there is a conspiracy on foot to kidnap and to sacrifice me upon the altar of slavery-need not be harbored for one moment in the minds of the most prejudiced. I will state a fact in another place, to show that the savage slave catchers who came with their pistols, disks, and clubs, and handcuffs, and a gag to pounce upon me and drag me to the South, did not themselves believe the charge.

That I aided in employing every legal and proper means in our courts of law, to let the slave go free, I admit, and shall endeavor to do so in every like suspicious case; but I sought not, I merit not the praise of releasing them-I left that duty to be performed, that laurel to be won by "the proper authorities," whose duty it is to execute the laws of our country, which prohibit the "bringing in, or importing African slaves into the jurisdiction of the United States from any foreign place, kingdom or country, in any manner whatever."

After being instructed in the fact that "the proper authorities" are willing to submit to the "bringing in," and even to the importers holding such slaves in our city prison, until it might suit their convenience to remove them on board the vessel, or (if he reserves his intent to sell) to the South-I held and still hold that that vessel ought to be libelled, and the case carried up to a higher tribunal; but since I am informed that the Portuguese who called at my office and stated the Brilliante belongs to the Governor or Mayor of Rio Jeneiro; that she is one of fifteen or twenty slavers which he employs in the slave trade; that he shipped to come to this port; she is to get an outfit to go to the coast of Africa for a cargo of slaves; and the one who informed me on a subsequent occasion, that the vessel returned from the coast with slaves a few weeks before they left Rio Janeiro; have not been seen on board the vessel for several days, I may not, in the absence of the proof to convict the captain and condemn the brig, proceed further; while at the same time I am satisfied that that vessel merits large suspicion.

It is said "that two of the slaves are liberated !" I have to regret that they are not all liberated by the law, as much as I regret the reputed occasion was furnished by the friends of the poor emaciated victims, that the pro-slavery party could raise the cry "Outrage !" "Negro riot !" and " Assault," to enlist the public sympathy in favor of De Souza, the oppressor, while he transports the oppressed to some southern slave market to be sold to the highest bidder! Money is

scarce—men are the most valuable commodity that can be sent to the southern market;—they offer "Two Thousand Dollars a head for able bodied slaves" in Florida.

And according to the moral and political cancer, the Courier and Enquirer, of this morning, which professes to be acquainted with De Souza's financial affairs, and intimates that the lawyers have fleeced him very close—if this be true, it would, I think be unsafe to say that he has not taken the hint from the late decision in his own case, and re-

served his intent, and sold them to the South.

But let us return to the Savage Outrage. - On Wednesday morning. 28th December, between one and two o'clock, several notorious slavecatchers made an attack upon the house in which I board, and attempted to force open the doors. I arose from my bed, and stepped to the door, and inquired, who's there? "Is Mr. Ruggles in?" "Yes." "I wish to see you, sir." "Who are you." "A friend—David, open the door." "What is your name?" "Why-why, it is Nash: I have come to see you on business of importance." "What's the matter?" "Nothing-I only wish to see you on some private business." "This is rather an unseasonable hour Mr. Nash, to settle private business; call in the morning at eight o'clock." "Open this door or I will force it open." "It shall not be opened to-night, sir, unless you tell your errand." "Then I will get authority from High Constable Hays," [herctired, and soon returned] "I have got authority from High Constable Hays to break open this door! Come on boys." He forced open the door; he and others of his clan made a rush up to my room like hungry dogs; but finding that they had missed their victim, they commenced an assault upon the defenceless landlady; menaced her with clubs, pistols and dirks, that she might produce me. Mr Joseph Michaels appeared, as the mate of the "suspected slaver" Brilliante, had his dagger raised to strike his sister, and bade him "hold the blow, or 1 will strike you down!"

The assistance of the watch was called by them. Mr. M. was seized, and the handcuffs that Nash brought for me placed upon him, and he was dragged to the watch house, where I am informed Nash took from his cap a half sheet of paper, which he said was the writ that he had obtained from High Constable Hays to take me as a slave.—After disposing of M. Michaels, he and his clan returned to Lispenard street, in company with the watchman, and others who were disinterested. Nash said, "had I have caught the fellow out the door, we would have fixed him." "Yes," said the savage Portuguese, brandishing his dirk, "if he would not go, I would soon have put an end to his existence: he

would never Interfere with Brazilians again."

"What did he do?" "Why," replied Nash, "he went down on board the Brilliante and assaulted the captain,"

"How do you know it was him?" Nash said, "If he did not do it, some of the blacks did, and he is the ring leader among them,"

Nash did not call to see me at 8 o'clock in the morning; at 12 o'clock, I proceeded to see him, or to make a statement of the facts in

the case before the Mayor.

As I entered the City Hall, I was pounced upon by Boudinot, who dragged me to the Police Office. I desired him not to drag me in that manner, and to show his authority to arrest me, because I would walk to the office with him—He refused to do so, and jammed me against one of the marble pillars—said he, "I was after you last night!"

When I appeared before the magistrate, he said that he understood that I had been engaged in a riot on board the brig Brilliante on the night of the 24th ult. and that I must find bail to appear before the Sessions to answer to the charge. My friend stepped out for my bail. Boudinot immediately dragged me to the city prison, and gave the jailor a paper, who said, "I have no right to lock up, that is not a commitment." "Yes it is," said Boudinot, "shut the fellow up!"

In less than 20 minutes, they had me on the way to Bellevue Prison. They said, "we have got him now, he shall have no quarters, we will

learn him to publish us as kidnappers!"

Now, whether these mended intend to take me from my bed and send me to the South with Waddy, the notorious southern slave catcher, who, I am informed, sailed for Savannah on Wednesday morning, or to "put an end to my existence," if I resisted, I cannot say in the absence of proof; I hope they did not. But from their conduct, and from the manner in which, I am informed, Boudinot, Nash, John Lyon, and Waddy carried off Peter John Lee, from Rye-and from what I have understood, (for some two or three months past) they intended to do with me, I must confess, considering all the circumstances in the case, that I do believe that this was a desperate effort to execute their threats by sending me to the South. Nash is not a police officer, therefore the magistrate could not allow him a warrant to apprehend any one. Boudinot did not enter the house; he doubtless expected that I would attempt to escape in the street, that he might take me with the warrant, which he informed a gentleman he obtained from Governor Marcy in 1832 or '33, by which he can arrest any colored person that Waddy may point out to him named "Jesse." "Abraham," "Peter," or "Siland send him or her South, without taking such person before a magistrate, as they did Peter John Lee.

Now, I thank Heaven that I am still permitted to live, and take fresh courage in warning my endangered brethren against a gang of kidnappers, which continues to infest our city and the country, to kidnap men, women and children, and carry them to the South. While Boudinot holds a warrant, by which he says he has been sending colored people to the South, for the last three years, and with which he boasts that he can "arrest and send any black to the South"—no man, no woman, no

child is safe.

Our houses may be broken open at night by northern or southern and Portuguese slave catchers; we may be assaulted and threatened with clubs, pistols or dirks, and handcuffed and gugged, and carried away to the South, while HUMANITY and JUSTICE continue to sleep!

Most affectionately and diligently yours, in the cause of Human Freedom.

DAVID RUGGLES.

New York, Jan. 4th, 1836.

The free colored people of these states, are also exposed to slavery by the oppressive and unjust laws enacted in most of the southern states. being often engaged as domestic servants, by persons travelling to the South, they are frequently arrested and thrown into prison, till they prove their freedom: if this is not done within a limited time, they are sold to pay their gaol fees. That such laws should exist in a civilized country, is perhaps one of the strongest proofs of the debasing nature of slavery, a system which makes man the foulest enemy of his fellow man, not only destroying the common principles of justice and benevolence, but introducing the most odious and oppressive tyranny, toward the friendless stranger. We have had occasion, in conjunction with the Manumission Society, whose friendly co-operation we have often had in these cases, to seek the liberation of persons thus confined. In some instances we have received information that they were liberated, but in no case have we been satisfied that they were. The extreme difficulty of transmitting satisfactory proof of their being free persons, and the still more appalling difficulty of sending an agent to the South to undertake the cause of an alleged slave, renders their release almost hopeless.

The efforts made by your committee to recover property due to colored persons, has been the means of developing some of the odious effects of slavery in the free states. We select the two following cases as specimens of the existence of slavery in New York. Mr. Joshua Pell, of New Rochelle, hired from Pumpton, New Jersey, a man named James Trebout,* whom he held as a slave four years; he also bought the man's wife for seventy dollars, from his master in New Jersey, and kept her as a slave, till the facts came to the knowledge of your committee; we then endeavored to obtain wages for these poor people, but the slave holders had craftily caused them to put their mark to a paper as a receipt in full, specifying some supply of clothing, † and small sums of money, which prevented the prosecution of a suit against him.

New Rochelle, 31st Oct., 1836. WM. W. McCLELAN.

[†] The following is the bill, ct literatum. The reader may judge how correct it is.

John Trebout, to Joshua Pell, Jr., Dr.	
Cash paid Androw C. Zebuskie, for John Trebout's wife,	\$ 70,00
Cash and expenses in going for her at different times,	20,00
Two shirts \$1,25, straw hat 25 cents, shoes \$2,50,	3.37
Pantaloons \$1,25, tobacco 12 1-2 cents, cash \$10,	1,721-2
Cash 121-2 cents, do 25 cents, summer coat \$3,00,	3,371.2
Cash at sundry times,	371-2
Coat \$5, shoes \$1,75, pantaloons \$1,50	8.25
Mending 75 cents, stockings \$1,50, tobacco 37 cents, cash 25 cent	s, 2.87 1.2
Fair of boots #4, hat #1, cash #3,	8,00
Cap \$1,25, shoes \$2, shoes for Dina \$1,	4,25
	100 60

A number of articles cannot be enumerated, because the bills have not come in. John Trebout and his wife have served Mr. Pell after a fashion from last November, about 11 months, consequently making Mr. Pell pay them about \$11,14.

^{*} I do certify that Dianna, a black woman, was purchased of Mr. Andrew C. Zebuskie, of Kohocus, New Jersey, last November, that she is now a free woman, which facts I know of my own knowledge.

In a more recent case, a slave, now residing in this city, applied to your committee for advice; he stated he had belonged to a man at the Ponds, Morris county, New Jersey; his master sold him for ten years, for two hundred dollars; after working for his new master six years, the remaining time, or four years, was sold to himself, for two hundred dollars, to be remitted by monthly installments; his master, after receiving these payments several months, wished to have his money in larger sums, and told the man to meet him at Hoboken and he would get him better employment, to enable him to pay him sooner; he met him accordingly, when he was thrown into prison, and ultimately sold to another man for two hundred dollars: from this man he effected his escape, and now lives in New York, determined to resist the fraudulent claims of his taskmasters. These persons were hired from Jersey to a free state, and were therefore comparatively safe, but in very many instances we find they are sold from New Jersey, to persons travelling to the South, where they become slaves for life. The great extent to which kidnapping and slave dealing is carried on in the state of New Jersey, calls for the prompt and energetic exertions of the friends of abolition. It has been ascertained by your committee that considerable sums of money have been frequently bequeathed to colored persons by their deceased masters: in innumerable instances, they are defrauded of these legacies. Several of these bequests have been discovered by your committee, and information given to the parties necessary for their recovery.

Thus far have we advanced.

The events of the past year should stimulate us to a more earnest pursuit of the objects we have in view. While our gratitude and praise is due to God for the signal interpositions of his providence, we take courage, and confide in divine aid and guidance for the future. While the suffering slave groans beneath the lash, or the endangered freeman fears the sound of the ruffian kidnapper, or the friendless wanderer seeks a shelter and a home, or the widow and orphan need a friend, or the captive prisoner an advocate to plead his cause; while we have hearts to feel or hands to work, the command of our Master shall be our counsellor and guide. "Remember them that are in bonds as being bound with them, and those that adversity as being yourselves also in the body,"

Annual Meeting of the New-York Committee of Vigilance.—A public meeting will be held, in aid of the people of Color, to-morrow evening, January 16th, at the Third Presbyterian Church, corner of Thompson and Houston streets, to commence at seven o'clock precisely. The attendance of the public is respectfully invited.

W. JOHNSTON, Chairman of Committee of Arrangements.

ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

COMMITTEE OF VIGILANCE.

The first anniversary of the New York Committee of Vigilance, was celebrated on the evening of the 16th of January, 1837, at the Presbyterian church, corner of Thompson and Houston streets, at 7 o'clock.

The meeting was called to order by the REVEREND THEODORE S.

Prayer was offered by Rev. John J. MITER.

An abstract of the annual report was read by Mr. Wm. Johnston. On motion of G. R. Barker, of New York, Resolved, That the report be accepted and approved.

On motion of J. J. MITER, Resolved, That the present Committee of Vigilance be continued.

On motion of John T. REYMOND, Resolved, That we commend the Vigilance Committee to the confidence, co-operation, and prayers of the friends of oppressed humanity.

In support of this resolution, Mr. R. spoke with great feeling on the force of prejudice. He himself had felt its keen edge. In the course of his remarks, he related the following fact. In the year 1832, he addressed a large meeting of colored people, in this city, in relation to the Wilberforce colony in Canada. His speech was noticed in one of the city papers, and found its way to his native place, Norfolk, Va. A copy was sent to the mayor of the city, who caused a writ to be issued immediately, for the arrest of Mr. R's person. Before, however, he visited

Norfolk, the mayor died; but the writ was still in the possession of the officer. When Mr. Reymond returned, the then mayor sent a request for him to come to the court-house. There the inquiry was made whether he had been absent from the State more than a year. He told them he had. Orders were then given for his imprisonment, and without the privilege of being heard in his own defence, he was locked up in jail for twenty-four hours. He was afterwards released, on condition that he would leave the city and the State forthwith. Said Mr. R., "the address, delivered at the above named meeting was the sole cause of my being thus, unceremoniously, banished from my native State!

In conclusion, he said, "his voice should ever be lifted to plead the rights of oppressed—bleeding humanity. He was ready to jeopard his life, his all, in defence of this sacred cause. If he must fall a victim to the wrath of the oppressor, he should make the sacrifice willingly—but he pledged himself to that meeting, and to God, to use every lawful means to reecue his brother from the grasp of unbridled tyranny.

As the Rev. Mr. Ludlow rose to offer a resolution, the Secretary of the Committee presented to the audience the afflicted wife of Peter John Lee, (a colored man who was recently kidnapped from Rye, Westchester county, and hurried into hopeless bondage, by the minions of slavery) and her two worse than fatherless, little sons. The affecting sight melted the whole meeting into tears. There stood a mother and her two little boys beside her, arrayed in something more than the habiliments of widowhood. A most appalling spectacle of the fiend-ish spirit of American slavery. At this moment of thrilling interest, Mr. Ludlow offered the following:

Resolved, That in view of the exertions of this Committee during the past year, and for their operations in future, we pledge ourselves to raise the sum of three thousand dollars.

After a most appropriate and deeply affecting address from Mr. L., the resolution was unanimously adopted.

MR. H. DRESSER, Esq., next addressed the meeting on the following resolution:

Resolved, That as the trial by jury is the great bulwark of the liberties of FREEMEN, it is RIGHT that the privileges of the same be extended to all persons claimed as fugitive SLAVES.

Mr. D. exposed the danger of investing an interested magistracy with power to decide in all cases affecting the *freedom* of our citizens, independent of an *impartial* jury. He established the doctrine of the resolution by an appeal to the highest judicial authorities, as well as by reference to the alarming facts which had fallen under his own observation in this city, and which were detailed in the Report.

The exercises continued until a late hour in the evening, while a large audience manifested their interest by listening with profound attention until the close of the meeting. The benediction was pronounced by the Rev. Dr. Raymond, and the meeting adjourned.

T. S. WRIGHT, Chairman.

DAVID RUGGLES, Secretary N. Y. Com. of Vigilance.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

WILLIAM JOHNSTON,
DAVID RUGGLES,
JAMES W. HIGGINS,
THEODORE S. WRIGHT,
GEORGE R. BARKER,
THOMAS VANRENSSELAER,
ROBERT BROWN,
SAMUEL E. CORNISH.

J. W. HIGGINS, Chairman, W. JOHNSTON, Treasurer. D. RUGGLES, Secretary.

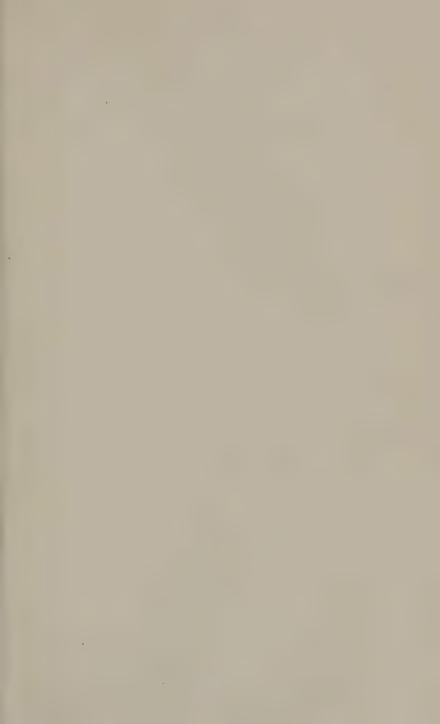
RECEIPTS,

IN AID OF THE COMMITTEE OF VIGILANCE.

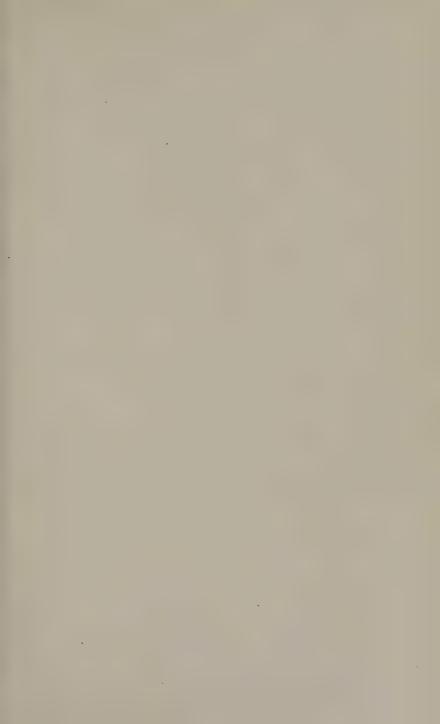
Total Receipts,	\$ 839,52
General Expenditure,	1228,71
Balance against the Treasury	389,19

The total number of persons protected from slavery by the Committee of Vigilance to January 16, 1837, is THREE HUNDRED AND THIRTY FIVE.

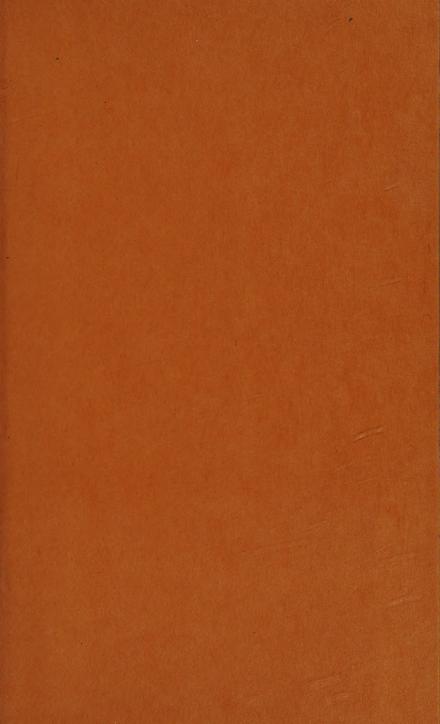
It is with much pleasure we state, that the principal part of the subscriptions raised by the exertions of the general committee, has been obtained by the efforts of the Ladies, who collect from their friends one penny a week.—It is also worthy of remark that the sum of \$12,50 and two trunks of clothes were g ven to the Committee, by George Jones, who was dragged to slavery by an order from our city Recorder.













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